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JAPANESE RULE IN FORMOSA



LIEUT.-GENERAL VISCOUNT KODAMA,
Governor-General of Formosa.

JAPANESE RULE IN FORMOSA

BY
YOSABURO TAKEKOSHI
MEMBER OF THE JAPANESE DIET

WITH PREFACE BY
BARON SHIMPEI GOTO
CHIEF OF THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

TRANSLATED BY
GEORGE BRAITHWAITE
TOKYO

WITH THIRTY-EIGHT ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK, BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA

1907

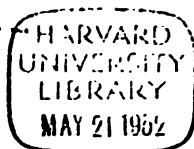
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PREFACE.

OUR administration in Formosa has been severely criticised, but the majority of our critics have not studied the question sufficiently to form an opinion. Very few of them have had an opportunity of visiting the island and testing the truth of their suppositions by personal investigation on the spot ; hence, in most cases, their conclusions are wrong, because they arise from insufficient knowledge, and are based on false premises. Others have looked at the subject through coloured glasses, and thus have obtained a distorted view. Small wonder then that their criticisms are so wide of the mark.

As a matter of fact, our nation's history as a Colonial Power commences with the story of our administration in Formosa, and our failure or success there must exercise a marked influence on all our future undertakings.

We rejoice therefore to report that, thanks to the Great Guardian Spirit, who through unbroken ages has continually guided His Majesty the Emperor and each one of His Imperial Ancestors, and thanks also to the generous way in which the Formosan Administration has been upheld by the State, our plans for the colonization of the island have been crowned with a great measure of success.

There is an old saying, "Though you order me to be silent, I cannot obey you"; in like manner, though I hold an official appointment, and have been privileged to

watch the development of the island, and on that account may not unnaturally be accused of boasting, yet for my country's sake I cannot forbear giving to the world the story of our success.

This book is the outcome of an extensive tour through the island undertaken by Mr. Takekoshi in which he had full opportunities of observing the manners and customs of the people. The account he therein gives of the history of our Administration is clear and authoritative, because his feet have trod the land he describes, and his statesmanlike ability has enabled him clearly to comprehend all sides of each question. I am not perfectly sure whether his criticisms are right in every case; but nevertheless I am satisfied that it would be a hard task to improve on his account.

Of late, the different Powers have come to realize that the question, as to which of them shall lead the world, can only be settled in the Eastern part of the world's great chess-board. We have, it is true, emerged victorious from the recent war, but the world still doubts our colonizing ability. I have been very glad, therefore, to write this Preface, believing that these pages will prove instrumental in removing these doubts, and hoping also that they may inspire my countrymen with fresh courage to take up the tasks which still lie before them. If so, it will matter little to me what the critics may say.

Mr. Takekoshi's felicity of diction and brilliant style are so well known that it is needless for me to add more.

SHIMPEI GOTO,

Chief of Civil Administration in Formosa.

August, 1905.

A WORD TO MY READERS.

WESTERN nations have long believed that on their shoulders alone rested the responsibility of colonizing the yet unopened portions of the globe, and extending to the inhabitants the benefits of civilisation ; but now we Japanese, rising from the ocean in the extreme Orient, wish as a nation to take part in this great and glorious work. Some people, however, are inclined to question whether we possess the ability requisite for such a task. I felt that these would doubt no longer, could they but read the account of our successes in Formosa. With this idea I twice visited the island to ascertain the actual conditions there, and have now prepared this book that all who wish may read the story for themselves.

Much of the information given in this work is derived from the archives in the Governor-General's Office, all of which were kindly placed at my disposal. I mention this to show that it may be relied upon as being correct, and I also wish to offer my sincere thanks to the Formosan authorities for all the kindness they have shown me.

Some years ago the historian Froude visited the West Indies, afterwards publishing his well-known work, *The History of English Colonization in the West Indies*. So great an influence had this book on the minds of the youth of that period, that for a time there was quite a rush to the colonies. Scholars have sometimes compared the practical effects of this book with those produced by

the Imperialism of Chamberlain and Rhodes. I would not for a moment venture to class myself with these two great English politicians, but shall be fully satisfied if this book of mine should serve even in a small measure to make known the actual conditions and potentialities of Formosa.

YOSABURO TAKEKOSHI.

OKUBO, TOKYO,
July, 1905.

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The Dutch were the first to open up the Tainan district, and many of their relics are still to be seen. One of these is the Red-hair Storey of Tainan Castle shown in the photograph. The building is an imposing one, and commands an extensive view of Tainan and the vicinity; but the ruin is likely to disappear altogether unless soon repaired. Some people consider that the stone foundations alone are of Dutch origin, the wooden part having been entirely rebuilt by the Chinese. Another Dutch relic is the Sakikan Castle at Anping, on the foundations of which the Japanese Custom House now stands. In the locality of Kagi there is a Red-hair Well, showing how far Dutch influence extended. There are also Red-hair Farms and Red-hair Towns. In Tamswi, remains are also to be found of the Spanish Castle, which was rebuilt by the Dutch, and is now used as the British Consulate.

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The city of Tainan is in the south-west of the island, and has a population of over 49,000 inhabitants. It was first occupied by the Dutch, then by Koxinga, and then by the Chinese, who made it their capital for more than 200 years. The city was planned on an extensive scale, and is rich in historical relics and fine buildings. The photograph shows the great gate erected near the Assembly Hall of the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi.

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In olden times this mountain was called by the Chinese Mount Jade. It is in the Central Mountain Range to the east of Kagi, and consists of three peaks, the Northern, the Central, and the Southern. It is the highest mountain in Formosa, being over 14,000 feet in height, nearly 2,000 feet higher than Fuji. The name "Niitaka Yama" means "New High Mountain," and was given by the Emperor on the 28th of June, 1903.

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Koshun used to be called the Llong-hiao Savage District. In 1874 after the Japanese expedition it was proposed by Cheng Bao-jen, and also made necessary by the Savage Boundary regulations, that a fortified city should be built here. One was accordingly erected with four entrances, one of which is shown in the photograph. Almost all Chinese towns are similarly enclosed. Taihoku, Tainan and Shoka all had similar defences, the thickness of the walls varying from 9 to 12 feet, and the height from 12 to 15 feet.

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In Formosa, especially in the north, the custom of keeping ducks is very general, and the people are very skilful in managing them, one man often looking after several hundred. This photograph shows a duck-keeper in his boat driving his flock across the river. No male birds are to be found in the flock; because as they lay no eggs they are found unprofitable and are killed off.

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Formosa Oolong Tea was produced in imitation of Chinese Tea, but has a peculiarly fine flavour of its own, and tastes quite different from the Chinese. Its prospects in the American market are, therefore, particularly bright. As the methods of manufacture are antiquated, and not to be recommended either from an economical or a sanitary standpoint, the authorities have started a model factory to teach the Formosans how to manufacture the tea entirely by machinery.

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Takow is one of the southern ports of Formosa. The harbour is almost entirely surrounded by rocks, there being but one small entrance for ships. On the left is seen the huge rock, called "Saracen's Head," on the top of which an old fort stood at the time of the Chinese occupation. At first sight the harbour seems good, but the water is shallow inside and the sand bar outside makes it difficult for steamers to enter. Dredging operations are now in progress for the improvement of the harbour. In the sea here is found a curious weed, called by the residents "Katanchu," which shows two or three inches above the surface of the water.

TRANSPORTING MAIL DURING FORMOSAN WAR - - *To face page* 261

With the completion of the railway, communications between the north and south are free from interruption, but at the time of the brigand troubles travelling was an arduous undertaking, the transporting of mail matter presenting special difficulties, because the brigands made the mails the principal object of their attacks. The photograph shows the mail bags being transported by the light hand railway.

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The town of Rokko was built about the close of the 10th century and was for a long time in a flourishing state. Owing to the accumulation of sand in the harbour, large vessels are now unable to enter, and the town has lost much of its importance, though it still bears witness to its once prosperous condition. The inhabitants belong to the Eastern race, and still keep up many of their peculiar customs. All the streets are roofed over, so that even in heavy rain one can go all over the city without getting wet.

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The Chinese venerate the written or printed characters, regarding them as living things, so that they never throw a printed or written page away, or put it to low uses. In this respect they differ greatly from us Japanese, who frequently use such paper as handkerchiefs. If any printed or written scraps of paper are seen on the road in China, they are picked up and placed in Sacred Towers known as "Character Reverencing Towers". The same custom prevails in Formosa. The photograph shows the Sacred Tower, which was built for this purpose in Tamsuikwan at Taihoku. The ashes of the burnt paper are collected annually, and used in the festival of Tsang-kieh, the inventor of characters, after which they are thrown into the sea.

RAILWAY STATION AT TAIHOKU - - - - - „ 284

This is situated outside the north gate of the city, and is the finest station building in Formosa. It is built of brick and stone, and was finished in August, 1901, at a cost of Yen 72,000.

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Daitotei is a part of the city of Taihoku, situated on the left bank of the Tamsui River, about ten miles from the mouth. The population of the place has gradually increased since the port of Tamsui was opened in 1858, and still more rapidly since Daitotei was made a foreign concession. All the tea from the island is collected here for firing and shipment, and Daitotei has become the commercial centre of Taihoku. Now that the readjustment of the city divisions has been adopted, the drainage completed, and the dirt cleared away, the whole look of the place has changed. Prominent business establishments, as the Mitsui firm and the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, have their offices here. The name Daitotei means "a large yard covered with large bundles of rice spread out to dry".

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Before the construction of these waterworks only two wells of good water were found in the town of Tamsui for the 6,000 inhabitants. It was not surprising then that this should be the most unhealthy place in the whole island; but since the construction of the waterworks the death-rate has greatly declined. The head spring is over two miles east of the town in the village of Suikito at the southern foot of Mount Getto, which is a part of the Daitone Range. The water comes up through many different volcanic strata, and is very clear and sweet. These waterworks were started in June, 1896, and completed in March, 1899.

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The first picture shows a Formosan female teacher teaching embroidery to Formosan girls in the School in connection with the Formosan Language Training Institution in Taihoku. Embroidery and the making of artificial flowers are the two arts in which Formosan girls especially excel.

The second picture shows a Japanese teacher giving a lesson in Japanese Composition to a class of Formosan Chinese young men.

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CHAPTER I.

BRIEF SURVEY OF OUR SUCCESSES.

Empires founded upon force, short-lived—Misgivings as to Japan's aptitude for colonial rule—Discouraging reports disproved by actual facts—Railway building—Safety of travelling; order and peace restored—Slow progress made in suppressing brigands—Want of co-operation between civil and military authorities—Regular troops unfit for the work—Faithless interpreters—Viscount Kodama establishes civil rule and successfully seeks to conciliate the people, organises relief and encourages learning—Many brigands come to terms—Remainder broken up—Military authority curbed—French difficulties in Tonkin solved by M. de Lanessan—Development of enterprise and prosperity under Kodama régime—Formosa financially independent—Comparison with results attained by France in Algeria and Indo-China.

NEW territory may be won by the sword, and a widespread dominion may for a time be kept up by force; but unless the conquering nation possesses the qualifications necessary for the wise administration of its possessions, decay and dissolution inevitably follow. Poland, now divided between Russia, Germany and Austria, its people only able to lament, in sorrowful dirges, the sad fate of their country, once delivered the proud city of Vienna from the armies that laid siege to it. Sweden, too, which at one time stood at the head of the Protestant Reformation in Northern Europe, and subsequently defeated ignominiously the forces of Russia, now stands stripped of all she once possessed beyond her own original boundaries, and trembles with apprehension at every move of her huge neighbour. Turkey, before whose fearless fighters all Europe once stood aghast, is to-day regarded as "The Sick Man of the East," upon whose demise the Powers are for ever counting, as they discuss what portions of his possessions should fall to each, when the time for the final division really comes.

It is obvious, therefore, that nations cannot maintain their existence by military power alone. In fact, military power has

brought misfortune upon many a country, because the commensurate administrative skill and national spirit were subsequently found to be lacking. On this account, nations like Spain, which at one time possessed vast colonies but lost most of them through misgovernment, are watching, with much uncertainty as to the result, Japan's first attempts at colonization, remembering their own sad experience. On the other hand, certain powers like England, possessed of colonies and inclined to believe that they alone possess this gift, are hardly disposed to acknowledge that Japan has any colonizing ability at all.

When Formosa first came into our possession, and we, Japanese, commenced to colonize it, we were ourselves anxious as to what the result might be. As it was our first attempt, we naturally made some mistakes; but, notwithstanding these mistakes which have been unsparingly criticised at home and abroad, good work has been done. Peace has been restored, order prevails, the productive power of the island has increased, the Government, is respected and trusted, and on every hand are seen evidences of life and prosperity. In short, Japan can point to her successes thus far in Formosa as a proof of her worthiness to be admitted into the community of the world's great colonial powers.

In June, 1904, I went to Formosa to ascertain how far our attempts to colonize that beautiful island had been successful. The reports which had reached me before I landed were almost discouraging. I was told that neither life nor property was secure from the brigands who still made frequent raids; that infectious diseases were so prevalent as to render the whole island an unfit place of residence for Japanese; that the administration was lax; that all productive occupations were neglected; and, finally, that what little trade still remained was all in Chinese hands.

What I myself saw, however, soon convinced me that these reports were absolutely without foundation—mere travellers' tales started by adventurers, whose plans for exploiting the island had been frustrated. To me the prospects looked very hopeful.

In the succeeding chapters, I intend to write at length on the present condition of the country; but, in the remainder of this

chapter, I wish to give a brief summary—a bird's-eye view, so to speak—of the results already achieved.

While the island yet remained a Chinese possession, the Governor, Liu Yung Fu, had commenced a railway, but when Japan took possession, the only part finished was the sixty-two miles between Kelung and Shinchiku. The route selected was, however, so inconvenient that our authorities resolved to start afresh and lay a line 230 miles long, starting from Takow in the south, and running the whole length of the island. The work was commenced from both ends at the same time, and was pushed forward night and day, so that at the time of my visit, trains were running over all but about sixty miles in the middle part of the line. Here a light railway had been laid temporarily, each car being propelled by two Chinese coolies who ran behind. At many of the stopping-places, companies of these coolies were to be seen looking at first sight like disguised brigands. They struck me as not unlike the crowds of palanquin-bearers to be seen in old times, at the post towns along the road between Tokyo and Kyoto.

I left Taichu on the 15th of June, and chanced to run across a Japanese girl on her way to the south. Though not more than sixteen or at most seventeen years old, she appeared quite at her ease and showed no trace of fear. The constable who was with me said, that she belonged to a well-to-do family and was on her way to Takow. At my request, he asked her whether she was not afraid to travel so far all by herself, but she replied, "Not in the least, sir!" A single straw shows which way the wind blows, and so these few words, "Not in the least, sir," rejoiced me greatly, and made it clear to me, that in that part of the island at any rate, peace and order were fully restored.

Some weeks later, when I was spending a few days in Amoy, Mr. Lim Pan Bang (Liu Wei Yuan) invited our Consul, Mr. Ueno, and myself to a quiet dinner. In the course of our conversation, Mr. Lim Pan Bang asked me how things were in Formosa. I replied, "Everything is quiet". I then told him how I had met the girl, spoken of above, and what she had said, and added, "From this you will understand that peace and order are fully restored. Perhaps, indeed, we may say that, since the day when Koxinga (Teiseiko) first occupied the

island, the inhabitants have never enjoyed such perfect peace as they enjoy to-day." Hearing this, Mr. Lim was lost in wonder and admiration.

If it be asked when this satisfactory state of things began, I should answer, "in 1902". In that year, Viscount Kodama became Governor-General of the island, and thenceforth devoted all his abilities to civil administration and to the work of putting down the brigands. This work had been attempted before; but as fast as one band was broken up, new bands arose in other places, and both soldiers and police were wearied out, without having apparently accomplished anything. It is true that in each expedition some brigands were killed, and thus they were weakened to some extent; but the fact that occasionally peaceable inhabitants were mistaken for brigands and treated accordingly by the punitive expeditions, led some of these to turn brigands. Thus the end seemed as far off as ever. Moreover, so long as the country was swarming with brigands, the more law-abiding portion of the population who would have liked to assist the Government, found it impossible to do so.

This state of things caused the gravest anxiety to the successive Governors-General, but try as they might, they could find no remedy. Several reasons may be given for this failure.

1. Owing to circumstances, the former Governors-General found themselves unable to place the whole island under civil administration. Thus the military authorities frequently encroached on the civil power and friction arose between the two.

2. However effective regular troops may be against a disciplined enemy, they have but little chance of success when sent against brigands living in jungles and swamps, who appear and disappear as if by magic. In the struggle with such a foe, discipline proved a distinct hindrance to our troops and prevented them taking the same advantage of sudden openings, as they might have done had each man been fighting for himself.

3. Up to this time all information had come to the Government through interpreters, some of whom were absolutely untrustworthy. These took advantage of their position and sometimes asserted that brigands were law-abiding people,

hoping thereby to secure some reward from the brigands later on. At other times, from motives of private revenge, they denounced law-abiding persons as brigands.

Thus the brigands came to lose all respect alike for troops and interpreters.

When Viscount Kodama took office, however, he determined to change all this, and to make the military administration subordinate to the civil. He accordingly gave orders that, in the councils held in his office, neither the military nor naval staff officers should have any voice save on matters connected with their own special departments. Moreover, to remedy, as far as possible, the abuses caused by the dishonest interpreters, he set himself to win the goodwill and confidence of the natives. He reopened the Charity Hospital in Taihoku; and founded asylums in Shoka, Tainan and the Pescadores for the relief of the destitute poor. He also made arrangements to provide for the aged, and invited all persons above eighty years of age to Taihoku, Shoka, Tainan or Hozan, where banquets were given in their honour. As if this were not enough, he also called together all the leading men in the island who held Chinese degrees, and held a meeting in Taihoku for the encouragement of learning. In this way he manifested his respect for the learned, and also attested his purpose to devote himself to the development of culture and enlightenment in the island, leaving no stone unturned to adapt himself to the manners and customs of the natives and to pacify the disturbed minds of the people.

As a result of this wise policy, the inhabitants gradually came to have confidence in the new government. At the same time, the Civil Administration Board opened direct negotiations with the brigand chiefs, and, substituting gentle measures for stern ones, invited them to surrender. When any chief submitted, he was given either work or a grant of money, to promote good behaviour. The names and whereabouts of his followers were then ascertained, and the distinction between the law-abiding members of the community and the brigands became clear. The abuses arising out of the interpreters' selfish practices were also removed. Even when any chief abused the kindness shown him by our authorities and became refractory, the military authorities were not allowed to take

action except at the request of the civil officials. This action usually took the form of sending soldiers to work with the police, the combined party attacking the headquarters of the chief, and subduing him and his lawless followers once for all. These expeditions were planned and carried out so satisfactorily that there was no place left in which the chiefs could hide, and the result was they were all forced to surrender. From this time the Civil Administration gradually gained strength, and soon spread its sheltering wings over the whole country, thus enabling the people to enjoy continued peace and happiness.

Formosa is not the only place where there have been abuses arising out of military administration or through the faithlessness of interpreters. M. de Lanessan, at one time Governor-General of Indo-China, in his book, *History of French Administration in Annam and Tonkin*, tells how one interpreter in Saigon attempted to stir up disaffection at the court, overawed the regent and the ministers, and almost threw the whole country into confusion, but was at last banished. Moreover he shows the evil of relying solely on military power, and says: "Military force should never be regarded as the only means of subduing people. For many years this method has been sadly abused. I consider it my duty to put an end to this as soon as possible." True to this idea, he paid great respect to the native rulers and treated all other natives with courtesy, and so gained the confidence of the Government and people, and restored order. This line of policy lost him popularity among military circles in France, and led to his recall, but it assuredly established on sound foundations the prosperity of French Indo-China.

In my opinion, the evils incident to military government and to government through interpreters are the same to-day as they were in ancient times, both in the East and in the West, and nothing but wisdom and resolution can overcome them.

As already stated, under Viscount Kodama's administration, the influence and power of the military and civil branches of the service were equalised, each branch assisting the other. Regulations were also issued, whereby military and civil officials without distinction were required to salute each other according to their respective ranks, whenever they passed each other in

the street. These regulations did much to cure the military of their arrogant ways; indeed, I consider that this curbing of the military power deserves special mention in this book, as I am convinced that it contributed materially to the success of our administration in Formosa.

As long as the brigands were still unsubdued the police were kept busy, attacking first this band, then that, so that little time or strength was left them for attending to their proper duties. But now that the brigands have been put down, the police are able to devote themselves entirely to the protection of the inhabitants and to the maintenance of order among them. They are also beginning to gain the respect and confidence of the natives, and in consequence the hold of the Government upon the people is greatly strengthened.

From the time Formosa passed under Chinese rule, after Koxinga's defeat and death, down almost to the present day, there were continual disturbances, at least twenty of which were outbreaks of some importance; in short, the island never was entirely free from rebellion. True, there were brief periods of apparent peace, but the authorities secured these by bribing the brigand chiefs and governed with their assistance for the time being. The inhabitants, therefore, came to regard the brigands as their possible future rulers, and felt that any turn of fortune's wheel might make them their actual governors. With this thought they paid taxes to the rightful government and also to the brigands. When our Government, therefore, as a new-comer unacquainted with the customs of the country, first attempted the subjection of the brigands, the inhabitants laughed in their sleeves, thinking it was like endeavouring to dry up the ocean. Considering our defeat as a foregone conclusion, they remained subservient to the brigands, while at the same time professing allegiance to their new rulers. To their extreme surprise, however, the brigands were entirely suppressed, and the inhabitants became at once perfectly willing to obey the Japanese Government.

With the restoration of peace and order all industries in Formosa began to develop with astonishing rapidity; signs of increasing prosperity are evident throughout the whole island. The first great Japanese private undertaking, the Formosa Sugar Company in Kyoshito, had at the outset many difficulties

to overcome ; but it is said that the net profits this year (1904) will amount to about 20 per cent. This success has roused and encouraged the wealthy Formosans, who never had sufficient faith in the Chinese administration to invest their capital in the development of the resources of the island. Six new sugar refineries have already been established or are now being organised. This shows the confidence of the inhabitants in our rule and what rapid strides industry is making.

I had striking evidence of the progress achieved at a conference of the governors from all the districts in the island, held in Taihoku during my visit. All the questions discussed at this meeting related to industry, *e.g.*, irrigation, engineering plans, experimental farms, etc. Thus the various District Civil Offices which in the past all seemed as if they were branches of the Main Police Office, have now come to look like branches of an Industrial Bureau. All this is the result of the new administration under which the brigands have been suppressed, and all law-abiding citizens enabled to enjoy security of life and property.

One result of this peace and progress has been to make Formosa financially independent of the mother-country. Since 1896, the Japanese Government has granted the island regular assistance in the form of a considerable annual subsidy. It must be admitted that much of that money was squandered. This, however, was unavoidable, and may be regarded as the price paid by the mother-country for her first lessons in governing a colony.

In olden times, Spain exploited her colonies solely in her own interest ; she systematically prevented the growth of native manufactures, and only allowed the inhabitants to use articles imported from the metropolis, making it her principle that the mother-country should always enrich herself by squeezing the colonies to the greatest possible extent. On the other hand, England always seeks to follow the saying, "The mother-country should always pour as much gold as possible into her colonies so that they may return a large interest". But the changes that have taken place in international relations during the last few years, have given rise to another precept, "Always encourage your colonies to undertake new enterprises, so far as their strength will allow". Every colonial power has en-

deavoured to practise this, the latest precept, but found it next to impossible to do so.

We may well congratulate ourselves, therefore, that since Formosa first came into our possession, our Government has steadfastly followed this rule, and in consequence, within the short period of nine years, the island has become self-supporting. In the Budget for 1904, the subsidy receivable from Japan was entered as Yen 1,490,000; and even in 1907 Japan expected to have to pay over as much as Yen 1,200,000. Nevertheless, the Formosan authorities were able to decline half the subsidy for 1904, although the Diet had already sanctioned the payment of the full amount mentioned above. Moreover, they have, it is said, resolved to receive no more subsidies, but to make the island's revenue cover the whole of the expenditure. This shows how well the island is governed.

It is now about a hundred years since France began to rule her oldest colonies in Indo-China, and at least twenty since she acquired the last, the whole area thus governed covering 363,000 square miles with a population of 17,620,000. But as, according to the Estimates for 1902, the expected revenue amounted only to 32,295,000 piastres, France had to face the prospect of having to pay out a subsidy of 30,000,000 francs. Algeria with an area of 184,474 square miles and a population of 4,739,556 is said to be the most prosperous colony France possesses, but as its revenue is only 66,799,372 francs, this one colony draws from France a yearly subsidy of 74,697,455 francs. Of course we must remember that 55,918,711 francs of this sum go back to France each year as military taxes, income from monopolies, etc., but even if these be deducted the French Government has still to pay out over 18,500,000 francs per annum. (The above figures are taken from the French Budget for 1900.)¹

¹ After the above had been written, an essay by Mr. Allen Ireland, on "Colonial Administration in the Tropics," appeared in the *London Times* for 31st August, 1904. According to this article, M. Doumer's policy in Indo-China has proved a success, and that colony has now reached the point of no longer receiving subsidies from the home-land. Truly remarkable progress has also been made in other ways. Not long ago this colony was receiving an annual subsidy of 40,000,000 francs, and the total amount it has cost the Home Government during the past thirty-five years is 750,000,000 francs. But as the subsidy was not quite sufficient to meet the deficiency in the revenue, Public Loan bonds were issued in 1896 to the amount of 80,000,000 francs. Now, however, it has become financially independent. In 1893 its foreign trade amounted only to

Formosa, on the other hand, has only an area of 14,000 square miles while the population does not exceed 3,079,692, and but nine years have passed since we began colonizing the island. For these reasons it is hardly fair to compare it with the two French colonies mentioned above. The island's revenue, however, already amounts to Yen 20,000,000 yearly, sufficient to obviate the necessity of drawing any further subsidies from Japan. From this we conclude that our colonial policy, having already passed through the French, has now entered the English era.

According to the returns for the year 1904, the Japanese residents numbered 53,365, not including soldiers; the students in Government and private schools receiving instruction through Japanese teachers numbered 26,700; 180 licences had already been granted to doctors who had studied Western medical sciences and were practising in the island.

While in 1896 there were in the whole island only 80 pillar boxes and 45 offices where postage stamps could be bought, there are now 726 pillar boxes and 547 offices where stamps are on sale. Letters and postal packets received from Japan and other foreign countries numbered 16,300,000, showing since 1896 an annual increase of about 14 per cent.; while those despatched from the island during the same year (1904) numbered 15,500,000, showing an annual increase of about 15 per cent.

Telephones are now in use in Taihoku, Taichu, Kelung and Tamsui; and long distance telephones are also employed in some places. The telegraph lines, which in 1896 only measured 710 miles, now extend 2,700 miles. Wireless telegraphy is also in use in some districts to which the ordinary lines have not yet been extended. In 1898, only 1,727 steamers, 12 sailing vessels and 13,746 Chinese junks entered Formosan ports; but the number entering in 1904 was 2,215 steamers, 135 sailing vessels and 36,322 Chinese junks. In 1896 the total value of the exports only amounted to Yen 11,402,227. These had increased to Yen 22,822,431 in 1904, while the imports had increased during the same period from Yen 8,631,001 to Yen 22,994,854.

162,000,000 francs, whereas now it is over 400,000,000 francs, and all visitors are greatly impressed with admiration for the genius which has caused this wonderful progress. (Written 12th October, 1904.)



BARON GOTO,
Chief of Civil Administration.

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Confidence in the Law Courts, and in the Civil Administration, is firmly established throughout the island; weights and measures have been corrected according to standard so as to insure just and fair dealing; harbours have been improved, roads made, sanitary matters attended to, laws for protecting the destitute promulgated, life and property made secure, so that journeys may now be undertaken without risk. In short, an entirely new Formosa has arisen unknown in past history.

Baron Goto, Chief of the Civil Administration Bureau, said to me one day, "I wish to found Formosa on scientific principles". Judging from the condition of the island to-day, I am inclined to think that the Baron's desire is being realized.

Most French colonies have hitherto been failures—Algeria is considered the most successful, and Indo-China comes next. The success attained in the latter has been ascribed to MM. de Lanessan and Doumer, both of whom held the position of Governor-General for a time. On their return to France, their fame was in everybody's mouth. Yet in truth their success is not to be compared with that achieved by our administration in Formosa. If we also remember how handicapped our country always is by lack, not only of capital, but also of able and powerful merchants, we shall more fully appreciate how brilliant is the success, which has crowned the efforts of our great colonial leader, Viscount Kodama—the maker of Formosa—and of his able lieutenant, Baron Goto, Chief of the Civil Administration Bureau. Nor let us forget the honour due to the Diet, the members of which, without any of that jealousy by which colonial governors have so often been hampered, granted the Formosan authorities freedom of administration and also liberal financial assistance. I cannot but rejoice that we, Japanese, have passed our first examination as a colonizing nation so creditably. The thought also of the future fills my heart with joy, because, as the Southern Cross seems to invite the mariner to investigate the wonders of the Southern Seas, so our successes in Formosa beckon us on to fulfil the great destiny that lies before us, and make our country "Queen of the Pacific".¹

¹ The above was written before the Battle of the Japan Sea, when Japan overcame the Russian Armada, and thus practically became "Queen of the Pacific". (TRANSLATOR.)

CHAPTER II.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF FORMOSA LOOKED AT FROM THE LEGISLATIVE STANDPOINT.

Transfer of Formosa to Japan—Copy of agreement—Spain's attitude towards Japan—Attitude of Germany—Governors-General of Formosa—Brief history of Viscount Kodama—The official residence—Mr. Maxwell's estimate of Viscount Kodama—The Viscount as a poet—The island passes through three stages: military rule, Colonial Department rule, and civil rule introduced by Kodama—Changes in Governor-General's office and in local administration—Sifting the officials—Topographical ignorance—Sweeping dismissals—Island divided into twenty Cho—Regulations for officials—A Government library—Relations between higher and lower officials—The Governor-General's powers; responsible only to Imperial Cabinet—France's fickle colonial policy—Neglected study of Formosa—England's colonial policy—Crown colonies—Semi-responsible colonies—Responsible colonies—Chartered Companies—Principles underlying England's policy—Colonies unaffected by foreign treaties—French colonies—Powers of the Governor-General—Reforms introduced by M. Doumer in Indo-China—Policy of decentralisation and policy of *rattachement*—Colonial representation in Parliament—French authority classified—Governor-General no longer interfered with—Dutch policy at work in Java—German Protectorates—The problem before Japan—Dismissal of the Chief Justice of Formosa—Is Formosa really a colony?—What is a colony?—Constitutional Government in colonies the exception, not the rule—American and British precedents—Introducing the Japanese Constitution is yet dangerous—If introduced, one law for all—Formosa not yet ripe for the Constitution—Laws which differ in Japan and Formosa—Japanese laws enforced in Formosa—Need of special criminal and civil codes—Formosa really a colony—Formosa resembles a British Crown colony—The Executive Council—British Colonial Councils—French Colonial Councils—The voice of the people—Rank of the officials—Various bureaux—Officials appointed by examination—Comparison with the Dutch method—Superior quality of the Formosan officials—Britain's generous treatment of her colonial officials—Hardships of colonial life—Salaries in Formosa—Salaries in British colonies—Plea for larger emoluments.

THE 17th of April, 1895, is a day long to be remembered by us, because on that day the people and territory belonging to another nation were transferred to our rule, a fact never before met with in all the twenty-five long centuries of our national existence,

and thus the Empire of Japan came to be counted among the colonial powers of the world. On that day, the Emperor of China, by virtue of the stipulations of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, ceded to us the island of Formosa together with all the adjacent islands. The meeting for that purpose should have been held on shore, but when Count Kabayama, who had already been appointed Governor-General of the island, attempted to land at the head of an expeditionary army and navy, the Chinese troops gave him such a warm reception that he desisted. An interview, therefore, took place on board the ss. *Yokohama Maru* off Kelung between Governor-General Count Kabayama and Lord Li Ching-fang, the Chinese plenipotentiary, when the following document was exchanged :—

“ Their Imperial Majesties the Emperors of Japan and China have, in accordance with article 5, paragraph 5 of the Peace Treaty of Shimonoseki, each despatched as their respective plenipotentiaries for the purpose of ceding and receiving the island of Formosa: the former Admiral Count Kabayama Sukeyoshi, Governor-General of Formosa, Junii, First Order of Merit; the latter, Li Ching-fang, ex-Minister of the Diplomatic Service, of the Second Official Rank.

“ The plenipotentiaries have met at Kelung and executed the following agreement :—

“ In accordance with article 2 of the Peace Treaty of Shimonoseki, the plenipotentiaries of the Empires of Japan and China have effected on the 17th day of the 4th month of the 28th year of Meiji, or the 23rd day of the 3rd month of the 21st year of Kocho, the transfer of the suzerainty over the island of Formosa and over all the islands thereunto belonging, and in addition over the Pescadores, and also over all the adjacent islands lying in the sea from 119 E. long. to 120 E. long. and from 23 N. lat. to 24 N. lat., all ceded for eternity by China to Japan, together with all the fortresses, munition factories, and official buildings as mentioned in the annexed memorandum.

“ In witness whereof, we, the plenipotentiaries of the two Empires, have signed our names and affixed our seals. Made at Kelung, in duplicate, on the 2nd day of the 6th month of the 28th year of Meiji, or the 10th day of the 5th month of the 21st year of Kocho.

“ List of the fortresses, munition factories, and official build-

ings existing in the island of Formosa and in the adjacent islands, as well as in the Pescadores.

"1. All the fortresses, munition factories, and official buildings situated in the open ports, as well as in the confines of every city, district and prefecture.

"2. Concerning the submarine cable connecting Formosa with the province of Fokein, the Governments of Japan and China shall negotiate hereafter and come to an understanding."

In this way, our country attained for the first time, its position as a colonial power, and was at once brought into contact with other powers. The Government of Spain, seeing our advance southward, began to feel uneasy, and, in order to avoid possible friction in the future, an understanding was come to in 1895, to the effect that, taking as the boundary an imaginary line drawn through the middle of the Bashee Straits, Spain should not claim any sovereignty over the islands lying to the north and north-east of this line; and Japan, in like manner, should not claim possession of the islands lying to the south and south-east of the same line. The Spanish Government saw fit to confer a high order on our Premier and Foreign Minister, thus giving practical proof of the good feeling and respect which the people of Spain entertained towards this country.

After the Philippines had passed into the possession of the United States, the German Government purchased the Carolines, the Ladrões and the Pelew Isles, 550 square miles in all (which had been governed by Spain as a part of the Philippines), for 25,000,000 pesetas (about £1,000,000). The German Premier, Count Buelow, in reporting the transaction to the Reichstag, spoke of Japan in high terms, and said among other things, that Germany had not bought the islands with any thought of thwarting the advance of energetic and enterprising Japan. Indeed, this is the first time that Japan was taken into consideration in the Weltpolitik. This purchase by Germany, the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States, and the cession of the Philippines, may all be considered as in some measure due to the stimulus of our new possession of Formosa.

The first Governor-General of Formosa was Count Kabayama, who remained in office from May, 1895, to June, 1896. Count Katsura took his place, but only occupied the position

till the October of the same year, when he was succeeded by Baron Nogi. Baron Nogi retired in February, 1898, and was succeeded by Viscount Kodama, who has been Governor-General ever since. All these men were not equally fitted for the post. Some were very able, and entertained many enterprising plans for the pacification and development of our new possession, but owing to Cabinet changes, they were transferred to other posts before they had had time to do anything.

Of all these Governors-General, the man who has been in office the longest is Viscount Kodama, and he alone has had ample opportunity to give full play to his abilities. It would be unjust to ignore entirely the great merits of other Governors-General, but it is safe to affirm that it is chiefly owing to the untiring and energetic administration of Governor-General Kodama, that Formosa has attained her present prosperity. As a small tree cannot flourish if always overshadowed by a big tree, so the brilliant abilities of Viscount Kodama were for a long time eclipsed by the greater renown of Marquis Yamagata. Sprung from the ranks, the Viscount, at the time of the war with China in 1894 and 1895, reached the poorly paid but very arduous post of Vice-Minister for War. Though he then exhibited many proofs of his unbounded energy and brilliant abilities, it is only comparatively recently that his real talents have come to be recognised. But all this time, the seeds which were sown long since by his unflagging industry and indomitable perseverance have been steadily pushing their roots downwards unheeded by the world at large, until now, at length, a stately tree may be seen shooting out branches in every direction. In 1898, when he went to Formosa as Governor-General, he was the central brain, so to speak, of the whole army, and most of the important military positions were held by his intimate friends. He had but to touch the button of the electric bell in his office, and his will was at once known throughout the whole army. Indeed, his departure for Formosa was nothing less than a step up into the Temple of Politics, out of the rigid walls of the army. He entered the Cabinet in 1904, when a slight change occurred in the *personnel* of the Katsura Cabinet, and receiving the portfolio of Home Minister, as well as that of Minister of Education, planned great administrative reforms. But he was soon again obliged to don his military uniform and

become Vice-Chief of the General Staff Office in preparation for the war with Russia.

It is entirely due to the evils which have been caused by Clan government during the past thirty years, that at such a critical juncture, when the country was confronting a most terrible danger, and when if ever the right man was required in the right place, such a brilliant man as the Viscount did not at once become Chief of the General Staff Office, but was made merely Vice-Chief, an appointment indeed which many persons would have felt it beneath their dignity to accept. The youngest of the long line of statesmen of the Choshu Clan, he was destined to play a prominent part in the last act of Clan politics. If he manages to steer the ship of State successfully through the present period of transition, he will certainly make a name for himself.

When the writer was staying at Taihoku, he went one day to the Governor-General's official residence, to call on Lieutenant-General Kurose and give him a message from one of his relations. The house is a substantial stone building, and though by no means grand, is on a stately scale and worthy of being the official residence of the Viceroy of Formosa. Many objections were raised at first to the expenditure, but it seems to me quite justifiable. The fact is that both our Chinese and Formosan subjects are very materialistic, seeing nothing great save in the glitter of gold, a gorgeous military display, pompous ceremonies and magnificent buildings. A Chinese poet in the Tang dynasty once sang "How shall the people realize the Emperor's majesty, if the Imperial palace be not stately?" In order to establish the national prestige in the island and eradicate the native yearnings after the past, it is most fitting that the authorities should erect substantial and imposing buildings, and thus show that it is their determination to rule the country permanently. Baron Goto, Director of the Civil Administration Bureau, after showing me over the Governor-General's residence, conducted me to a small room on the ground floor, which, he told me, had been especially erected for his own accommodation when he came to receive the Governor-General's instructions. A spacious upstairs room had been set apart for the Governor-General's own use, but he being naturally very frugal and fond of living plainly, had appropriated the

small room on the ground floor, so that, when I was there, Baron Goto was using an adjoining room which belonged to one of the secretaries.

While we were conversing, I took up the *Standard*, and read an article by Mr. W. Maxwell, in which he described an interview he had had with Viscount Kodama, who was at that time Baron, and compared him to Lord Roberts, the great English general. The whole article is too long to reproduce here, so the following extract must suffice :—

"To the responsibilities and difficulties of his great position, Baron Kodama has brought the wisdom, the judgment, the unswerving rectitude and the inexhaustible perseverance that have distinguished him throughout his career. He is a man of strong character, and possesses in no small degree the indefinable quality known as personal magnetism. He has that infinite capacity for taking pains which Michael Angelo called genius. Night and day he sits at his desk, attending to the multitudinous details incident to his position; yet his door is never closed upon a friend, or even upon a stranger who has the least claim to his attention. . . . Baron Kodama is certainly a man who inspires confidence."

During my stay in Taihoku, I used to take a walk in the suburbs early every morning. One day I was taken to see Nansaien, the Governor-General's country house. I expected a spacious building, and so was much surprised when I was shown into a small field, where stood a plain cottage, the cost of which, I afterwards learned, did not exceed £39. Here the Viscount loved to assemble the learned men of the island and compose Chinese poems, the result of which appeared in the form of a collection of verses under the name of *Nansaien Shishu* (collection of Poems from Nansaien). I believe acts like this enabled him to touch the hearts of the natives.

On arriving in the island, he felt that his first duty was to reform entirely the administrative organisation. According to a provisional ordinance promulgated in May, 1894, the Governor-General's Office was divided into three distinct bureaux—Civil Administration, Naval and Military. The ordinance further provided that the Civil Administration Bureau should have direct supervision over all political matters, except those relating to the army and navy. But in spite of this provision,

the said bureau's sphere of influence was very limited, so that at times it almost seemed as though nothing could be done without the consent of the military. This period has therefore been called "The Age of Military Administration," *i.e.*, the "Age of Mistakes and Failures".

Afterwards many administrative reforms were introduced, but in reality the power remained in the hands of the military coterie. At this time, Formosa was really under the Department of Colonial Affairs; and so it came about that the greater part of the administration was not carried out in the island, but in the Colonial Department in Tokyo. Thus this period was called "The Colonial Department Age," *i.e.*, "The Age of Discord".

In October, 1897, the Governor-General's Office was divided into five departments—Governor-General's Secretariat, Civil Administration Bureau, Financial Bureau, Military Staff and Naval Staff; the Financial Bureau being placed on the same footing as the Civil Administration Bureau.

After Viscount Kodama became Governor-General, the Governor-General's Office was made in June, 1898, to consist of four departments—Governor-General's Secretariat, Civil Administration Bureau, Military Staff and Naval Staff. Furthermore, special orders were issued, prohibiting the members of the military and naval staffs having recourse to arms, except at the express request of the Civil Administration Bureau. It was also decided, that in all councils held at the Governor-General's Office, neither the military, nor the naval staffs should have any voice at all, excepting only on matters relating to their respective spheres. Thus the Civil Administration Bureau became the real head. Such a reform could only be achieved by a Governor-General who was himself a statesman, as well as a soldier. Most of the important administrative successes achieved in the island are the result of this one change.

The reforms effected in the internal administration of the island, are far more remarkable than those which have already been alluded to. Under the regulations issued June, 1895, the island was divided into three prefectures—Taihoku, Taichu and Tainan. These were further subdivided into eight Cho, the Pescadores forming an additional one. After two months,

however, this was abolished. In 1896, another plan of division was adopted. According to this, there were six prefectures—Taihoku, Tainan, Taichu, Shinchiku, Kagi and Hozan, and three Cho—Giran, Taito and the Pescadores. In each prefecture and Cho, Business Offices, Police Offices, and Conciliation Offices were established to the number of sixty-five in the whole island. This system was superseded in 1897. Governor-General Kodama established three prefectures—Taihoku, Taichu and Tainan, and four Cho—Giran, Taito, Koshun and the Pescadores. Under these there were forty-four Business Offices, which number, however, was later reduced to thirty.

In June, 1901, this arrangement was again superseded, and twenty Cho were established—Taihoku, Kelung, Giran, Shinko, Toshien, Shinchiku, Bioritsu, Taichu, Shoka, Nanto, Toroku, Kagi, Ensuike, Tainan, Banshorio, Hozan, Ako, Koshun, Taito and the Pescadores. The Cho ranks a little lower than a prefecture (Ken), but above a district (Gun) in Japan. The Governor of a Cho is appointed from among ordinary civil officials, and the office under him is divided into three sections—General Affairs, Taxation and Police, but as most of the business of the first two sections can only be carried out with the assistance of the police, the Cho branch offices are under the direction of police-sergeants, and the staffs consist of ordinary police. All the civil affairs are managed by the police, so that their number has been greatly increased, and they have become the chief support of the Civil Administration Bureau. Thus the Governor-General's orders easily reach the people, the views of the local officials are quickly transmitted to the higher officials, and the government is greatly accelerated.

In this way, a good system of government has been established. But, without efficient officials to carry the reforms into effect, they will come to nothing. Therefore, it seems, that at the time the change was made, the authorities felt the urgent necessity of dispensing with all old, incapable and undesirable officials, and installing in their places thoroughly qualified and able men imbued with new ideas. Further, the education of the officials, actually employed in the Governor-General's Office, seemed to be an urgent matter. But this is no place to

rehearse all the mistakes and misdeeds committed by the higher officials in that "Age of Commotion," and in truth, when we consider that most of them erred unwittingly, we shall, I am convinced, feel that the time has come when we ought to stop whipping dead dogs.

Let me, however, give one instance. When Viscount Kodama was appointed Governor-General, seeing that the methods of administration were very unwieldy, he consulted the officials as to the advisability of making a change in the above-mentioned departments, but though four years had passed since the island had come into our possession, not one of the officials was sufficiently well acquainted with the geographical features of the country to give him much assistance. This seems at first sight almost incredible, but it is nevertheless a fact, and the reason is not far to seek. At that time it took nine days to go from Taihoku to Tainan; and only those officials who had more abilities and influence than their colleagues, ever had the opportunity of taking a trip through the island. Moreover, when they had completed their survey, they were usually at once transferred to some good position in Japan, away from the scorching southern heat. Indeed, so often was this the case, that the island of Formosa came to be considered merely a stepping-stone to some higher official position. As it was, Viscount Kodama was obliged to have recourse to the old maps drawn during the time of the Chinese occupation. Not only was there this lack of geographical knowledge, but in addition, very few of the officials were acquainted with the native languages, and, as a consequence, but little was known of the customs and disposition of those whom they governed. Small wonder, then, that no perceptible successes were achieved.

A full set of carpenter's tools was, it is said, found in the luggage of one man who went to Formosa as a policeman, but who really intended to spend most of his time doing carpenter's work. This is only one example of the extremely lax and irregular state of things which then existed. There were also not a few of the higher officials then in Formosa, who looked upon the island as a fine preserve for the purpose of office hunting. Seeing the necessity of banishing all these, the Governor-General, with his usual statesmanlike determination,

effected a sweeping clearance. It is said that, for some weeks about that time, every steamer from Formosa calling at Moji, brought home hundreds of discarded officials.

Moreover, the Governor-General directed that all officials should wear a special uniform, whenever they were travelling, and also while they were on duty. This dress resembled that of a naval officer, the only difference being that the officials wore a sword, in place of the dagger carried by naval men. This ingenious device not only saved expenses for clothes, but also helped the wearers to maintain their proper dignity, adding to their sense of importance, and making them more ready to bear hardships in the performance of their duty. Thus it proved very effectual in maintaining order and discipline.

Again, as Formosa was a newly opened country, the conditions were different from those existing in Japan, so that the officials experienced great difficulty in finding suitable houses or lodgings. To obviate this, accommodation was provided for all Government employees either in official buildings or in specially erected boarding houses. Each one of these official residences and boarding houses was placed under the supervision of its own committee, who were held responsible for matters relating to hygiene and discipline. Furthermore, the occupants of these buildings were forbidden to keep fowls, to put fruit or other articles into the water tubs for cooling purposes, to leave clothes, etc., that had been washed, hanging on the edge of the said tubs, or to draw any water from the large reservoir except with the wooden dipper provided for that purpose. When I read these rules, I realized something of the endless details to which the boarding-house committees were obliged to attend. And I could not forbear smiling when I read further, that those who had families were not allowed to take in other persons, except their near relatives, who required their help and protection; and I wondered what would happen if the same rules were enforced in Tokyo.

During my stay in Taihoku, I often went to Baron Goto's official residence and was astonished at the splendid collection of books there. These were arranged on shelves built on both sides of the corridors, both upstairs and down. Afterwards I was told by the Baron that the greater part of this collection belonged to the Governor-General's office, and he added, "You

know we look upon the Governor-General's office as a sort of university where we may study the theories and principles of colonization, in which branch of knowledge we, Japanese, are at present not over-well-posted. The Governor-General is the president, I am the manager, and this room we are now in is the library of this Colonization University."

The officials also hold Reading Society meetings two, three, and even four times a month, when the members talk over the contents of the books they have been reading. These books, however, have not necessarily any connection with their official duties. Some read books and pamphlets on purely literary topics, others follow their predilections and select books of travel, romance, or adventure, all being at liberty to choose what books they wish.

At the time of my second visit in June, 1905, there happened to be a meeting in Taihoku of all the District Governors, and I saw the provincial officials attending, outside the council hours, the meetings of the Reading Society and listening to lectures given by the members. Several non-official residents of the city were also to be seen among the audience. When Lord Curzon was Viceroy of India, he exhorted the British officials there, never to lose their official attitude when attending to official business, and also never to lose the spirit and energy of their school days. Indeed, I cannot but extol the good tact and minute attention shown by Viscount Kodama and the officials under him, in thus endeavouring to promote and improve the intellectual status of the sub-officials, and I am convinced that the results will be seen in added efficiency. In colonies like Formosa where everything is still in its infancy, the government should be largely patriarchal, and the success of such a government must depend upon the chief's attitude and feelings towards his subordinates.

According to the present official organisation of the Governor-General's Office, the Governor-General's powers and qualifications are as follows:—

1. He shall be an Admiral or Vice-Admiral, a General or Lieutenant-General, and shall receive his appointment direct from the Emperor.
2. He has full command of the army and navy within the limits of his commission.

3. Though properly under the control of the Minister for Home Affairs, he shall obey the commands of the Minister of War as also those of the Minister of the Navy, in all matters relating to military or naval administration, and in affairs relative to the appointment and transfer of military and naval men. In time of war, however, he shall obey the commands of the Chief of the General Staff Office or of the Chief of the Naval Board of Command. In matters relating to military education he shall obey the commands of the Inspector-General of Military Education.

4. He can issue an ordinance by virtue of his official authority or of the power specially entrusted to him and may append thereto punitive provisions, but is not permitted to impose a fine of more than Yen 200 nor a term of imprisonment exceeding one year.

5. He has power to employ military force.

6. He can order the Chief of the Garrison or the other resident military officers, to aid the Civil Government in addition to their regular duties, whenever the same may be required.

7. He can suspend or cancel all regulations and judicial decisions given by the chiefs of Cho.

8. He has full power to promote, dismiss or discipline all officials of Hannin rank and below; but in regard to those of Sonin rank and over, he is required to appeal to the Throne, through the Minister for Home Affairs, and also through the Prime Minister.

From the above, it will be seen that the powers given to the Governor-General are very extensive. His authority, however, may only be exercised within the limits of the sphere to which he is appointed. Therefore, for the purpose of clearly defining his powers, Law No. 63 was issued in March, 1896. This states:—

1. He is duly empowered to enact ordinances which shall have the same binding power as laws.

2. Such ordinances must first be approved by the Council held in the Governor-General's office, and shall then be submitted through the Minister for Colonial Affairs for the approval of the Emperor.

3. In cases of urgency, however, ordinances may be issued without the observance of these formalities.

4. If, after an ordinance be issued, it should fail to receive the Imperial sanction, the public shall be notified that such ordinance is null and void.

5. In case it be determined that the whole or any part of any Japanese law, now in force or hereafter to be enacted, shall be also enforced in Formosa, the same shall be made known by an Imperial ordinance.

6. This law shall continue in force from the time of its promulgation until March, 1900.

It may justly be affirmed that, only after the promulgation of the above law, did the Governor-General obtain sufficient authority for the efficient administration of the island. On this account the Imperial Diet is to be heartily praised for having been, in this matter, broad-minded and sagacious, and also for not having fallen into the same errors as have so often been committed by France. In her attitude to her colonies France has been vacillating, not having pursued a definite and constant policy. At one time, she adopted such an extremely liberal policy towards them as to allow them the right to send representatives to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris; at another, this liberality was suddenly transformed into interference and suspicion, and every restriction was put on the movements of the Governors-General. In fact, each colony must have its own particular system of government, which those sitting idly at their tables in the Government offices, hundreds of miles away in Tokyo, can never hope to understand.

I hope that our countrymen will give some attention to the study of colonization, taking Formosa as their subject. The island has been acquired by us at the point of the sword, and even after its transfer the reins of government were entrusted to officials of military extraction, all of whom conducted the administration of the island by means of temporising measures, a system which was indeed quite necessary under the circumstances. Since then the military administration has given place to the civil, sometimes the one, sometimes the other, being uppermost. But no one has ever heard of an institution being introduced there, which was based on a sincere and careful study of the correct methods of colonial administration. The Home Government is inclined to regard Formosa as something a little bigger than a city or prefecture in Japan,

or else they treat it in accordance with time-honoured formalities and conventionalities almost inseparable from a red tape policy, and this simply because they regard the Formosan authorities with more or less suspicion and jealousy. The Imperial Diet also is apt, on account of its jealousy towards the executive officials, and also its own ignorance of colonial matters, to side with Government officials, whenever such subjects are under discussion. As it is, a powerful and weighty opinion in regard to Formosa, as a colony, has never yet been given. From the colonial history of European powers, it is clear that those nations, which have considered their colonies as a part and parcel of the home country, have almost always failed in their system of government; while, as a rule, those nations have succeeded which have looked upon their colonies as a special kind of body politic quite distinct from the mother-country.

This truth fully explains the reason why England, among all colonial powers, has scored so brilliant a success. At first sight, indeed, it seems to make no difference whether we consider a colony as a part of the mother-country, or as a place wholly distinct and separate. However, the different points of view from which we regard it, cause a wide divergence in the conclusions arrived at. Great Britain divides her colonies into four classes according to the systems under which they are governed, *vis.* :—

1. *Crown Colonies.*—In these all the officials from the Governor down are subject to the orders and supervision of the Home Government. The laws are sometimes promulgated by order of the Governor; in some cases there is a special council which the Governor may consult, and also a legislative body for the discussion of legal matters. To this class belong the following: Aden, Basutoland, British Honduras, British New Guinea, Ceylon, Falkland Isles, Fiji, Gambia, Gibraltar, Grenada, Gold Coast, Hong Kong, Labuan, Lagos, St. Helena, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Tobago, Trinidad and Turks Islands. In all these colonies, the Governor is always, in reality, himself the Government. Those colonies which Great Britain has acquired by the force of arms or by diplomacy are most of them governed as Crown Colonies. (*British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas*, by Sir S. Jenkyns.)

2. *Semi-responsible Colonies.*—These colonies enjoy the privilege of representative government, under the control of a Governor who is appointed by the sovereign. The general principle adopted in these colonies, is that *Legislation* should be largely in the hands of the colonists, but *Administration* be directed from home, through a Governor advised by officials appointed by himself, the sovereign retaining only the right of veto. Barbados, Natal and Western Australia belong to this class. The right of electing representatives is enjoyed by a limited number of the English residents, under certain specified conditions. In Natal, where there are 73,095 Englishmen out of a total population of 959,384, only 15,349 persons were entitled to vote in 1902.

3. *Responsible Colonies.*—The colonies in this class are governed wholly by representatives elected by the people. The sovereign has only the power of appointing the Governor-General and of refusing his sanction to the laws which are sent up for his approbation. The Home Government is powerless to interfere with the administration in any way, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet being responsible to the legislative body of the colony. The Commonwealth of Australia, Canada, Cape Colony and Newfoundland all come under this head.

The main difference between the first class on the one hand, and the second and third classes on the other, consists in the fact, that while the first class includes those colonies which have been acquired by peaceful means or by force of arms, the other two classes are mostly those territories, which attracted no attention from the British Government when Englishmen first settled there, and in which gradually the settlers earned for themselves the respect and esteem of the native populations. These early settlers may rightly be considered as having occupied the land, and as having introduced and implanted there the English common law, before the home authorities assumed jurisdiction. But in these colonies the number of the natives is very large in proportion to the number of English residents, so that, when the colony is not fit for responsible government, it is sometimes made a Crown Colony. (*Colonial Legislature*, by Tarring.)

4. *Chartered Companies.*—These colonies are governed through Chartered Companies, which are usually joint-stock

companies, incorporated for the purpose of opening up the country by persons, who are under no orders from the Home Government, but who have received from the true owners the right of governing the land. In these cases the Home Government grants a charter, by virtue of which the Company is authorised, for a certain fixed period, say for twenty or thirty years, to exercise the right of governing the territory, to enact laws, and to levy taxes and imposts. When this authorisation has been granted, the Company's representative may be said to be the Governor, the treasurer may be called the Minister of Finance, and the head of the police the Minister for Home Affairs and for Justice. All English immigrants and natives alike are required to respect and obey the laws and regulations made by the Company. Under this head come the present English possessions of British North Borneo, Rhodesia, and until quite recently Nigeria. These colonies belong, not to the Colonial Department, but to the Foreign Office (see the charter granted to the British North Borneo Company). When, at the expiration of the period agreed upon, the charter lapses, the colony usually becomes either a Crown Colony or a Protectorate of the fifth class. These colonies are made protectorates, when the state of affairs is not yet so far developed as to allow them to become Crown Colonies. The protectorates are governed by a temporary commission specially despatched. This system is only a provisional measure to meet the requirements of the colony during its transition stage. (See the Annual Report of the Colonial Office.)

At the present time Great Britain possesses more than forty colonies, only eleven of which are privileged to have responsible government, through representatives elected by the people. Thus at first sight the British colonial system appears to be in a state of confusion, but a certain regular plan runs through the whole.

1. The Constitution of the Home Government is never applied to the colonies, without modification.
2. The mother-country does not impose taxes on the colonies.
3. The Parliament of the home country does not directly repeal, amend, or enact laws for the colonies. (*Vide* Diosy, *On Constitution*; Lewis, *On Dependencies*.)

The above three ruling principles were all adopted after Great Britain's bitter experiences with her North American colonies. Though, as a matter of course, the Colonial Governments are free from the control and surveillance of the Home Parliament, and from the restrictions they would be under were the Constitution of the mother-country introduced, it must not be supposed that they are given absolute freedom in regard to financial matters. To supervise these, a Committee for the Audit of Colonial Finances is appointed by the Colonial Minister, sometimes in conjunction with the Foreign Minister, and this committee exercises a rigid control.

In this way, Great Britain places her colonies outside the direct control of either her Parliament or her sovereign, so that when she concludes a treaty with a foreign power, the responsible colonies do not share any of the privileges or responsibilities thus imposed, until the Colonial Government explicitly expresses its willingness to do so. The responsible colonies enjoy, however, at the invitation of the Home Government, the privilege of taking part, if they so desire, in any international conference having no political object, such as, for example, those relating to the postal, telegraph, or monetary systems. The colonies also have full freedom to borrow where they will. Thus they are granted a large amount of independent action, but the colonists, as soon as they leave the colony, are treated as subjects of the mother-country, and come therefore under the protection of the laws of the Home Government. (*Vide British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas*, by Sir H. Jenkyns.)

In France, however, where the people like uniformity and are not willing to adopt methods to suit the requirements of each colony as Great Britain has done, the system followed is different. French dependencies may be divided into two classes, as under :—

1. Colonies which are governed in some measure according to the laws of the Home Government. To this class belong such old colonies as Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion, etc. These enjoy the right of sending one member to the Senate, and two representatives to the Chamber of Deputies.

2. Colonies which are entirely under the control of the Governor-General. This class includes, as a rule, colonies in

the tropics. Here the Governor-General is above the provisions of the laws, and holds in his hand full authority concerning both civil and military affairs. He has command of the navy in the territory under his administration, and is empowered to declare a state of siege in case of emergency. The best type of this class is French Indo-China. In 1897, after M. Paul Doumer became Governor-General, the official organisation was wholly reformed. It was then determined that though the Governor-General should still continue to exercise his jurisdiction over the colony as a whole, each separate district should be left free to administer itself. The Governor-General is supreme in matters of legislation, administration and jurisdiction, and the office was divided into four departments, *viz.*: Administrative Affairs Bureau, Civil Administrative Bureau, Military Affairs Bureau, and Secretary's Bureau. Moreover, it was decided, that the revenues derived from indirect taxes should all be included in the budget of the Governor-General's Office, while those accruing from direct taxes should be appropriated for the support of the District Offices. Inasmuch as the Governor-General of this colony is able, by virtue of his position, to further French influence in China, he may be said to occupy a viceregal position, similar to that held for a short time by Viceroy Alexieff in Manchuria.

Though some French colonies have the privilege of sending up one member to the Chamber of Deputies in Paris, they are generally limited to electing representatives to the Higher Colonial Council which serves as an advisory body to the Government. In fact, from all times, there have been in France two conflicting policies. Under the one, which is called "Système de Rattachement," the colonies are regarded as provinces and departments of France. From the Constitution down to the ordinary laws, all the institutions, customs, etc., of the home country are introduced into the colonies without change or modification of any sort, with the result that they become a part of the mother-country, not only from the institutional point of view, but also in regard to all their manners and customs. This policy was pursued under both the old and new Republics.

According to the other policy, the colonies are regarded as a special and separate land, distinct from the home country,

and are governed by special laws. This policy was adopted by the French statesmen under the Ancien Régime. At the time of the great revolution, the popular Parliament, which met at Versailles, insisted for the first time on a policy of assimilation and uniformity in connection with the colonies. Accordingly in 1795, by virtue of the Constitution, all French colonies were given the same standing and were placed on an equal footing with the departments and provinces of the mother-country. From this time they were granted the right of electing members to represent them in the Senate and also in the Chamber of Deputies. Afterwards when Napoleon usurped the sovereign power, this system of unison and coherence was abolished, the old policy being reverted to. Since that time, sometimes the one, sometimes the other, of these two antagonistic policies has been followed. The introduction of the "Système de Rattachement" in Algeria dealt a deadly blow to the industries, which had hitherto been in a promising state, and placed the political power in the hands of an insignificant body of representatives, who acted solely in the interests of the few French residents and their friends in Paris. The general public, gradually awakening to the errors and scandals of this system, began to weary of it, and at last in 1896 discarded it so far as Algeria was concerned. It was subsequently abandoned in the other colonies also.

Thus to-day, France has six different kinds of authority for governing her colonies :—

1. Laws approved both by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies.
2. Orders of the Conseil d'Etat under the direction of the Minister of Justice.
3. Orders given by the Cabinet.
4. Orders issued by the Colonial Minister.
5. Ordinances issued by the Colonial Council.
6. Governor-General's orders.

The above classification is made from the judicial point of view, but in reality there exists no such distinction, the greater part of the authority being vested in the person of the Governor-General. Exactly what matters belong to the authority and superintendence of the Chamber of Deputies, and what come more exclusively under the Governor-General's own control, can

be stated only in theory, it being almost impossible to draw a sharp line of distinction. Furthermore, France has come to realize that, however good the system of assimilation may be in name, its results are unsatisfactory. In theory, Parliament possesses the power of repealing and amending the laws for the colonies; but in reality, the two Houses act as though there were an implicit understanding between them and the colony, and rarely interfere in the internal administration, the members merely asking questions in regard to financial matters. In fact, during the twenty-nine years, from 1871 to 1899, only thirty-nine resolutions in regard to colonial affairs were brought before the Chamber of Deputies.

Holland's international relations are so insignificant that the world at large pays but little attention to the colonial policy she has adopted. Still this policy, of which the government of Java is a typical example, has been eminently successful. The Governor is invested with an authority resembling that of a despotic monarch. Not only are all matters connected with legislation and administration entirely in his hands, but he is also empowered to declare war against and make peace with the native chiefs. Moreover he makes all the official appointments, and persons who are considered detrimental to the public peace of the island he is authorised to banish. In fact, he is little short of absolute, for the sovereign cannot remove him at pleasure, but can only impeach him before Parliament and the Chamber of Representatives.

Germany, though the youngest European colonizing power, is very skilful in determining the relations between the colonies and the mother-country. German colonies, being looked upon as protectorates, are placed under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Office, a policy which does not allow them to be interfered with, either by the officials of the central Government, or by Parliament. But this policy has now been partly broken down, and though Parliament still refrains from interfering in colonial affairs, the meddling of the Government officials has become extremely troublesome. In consequence, the colonies, under the pressure of wearisome routine and cumbrous red tapeism, seem unable to develop rapidly. They still, however, enjoy some slight benefit from being outside the pale of constitutional administration.

When the island of Formosa came into our possession, which of the above-mentioned policies did our authorities propose to adopt in governing our new colony? Few persons, it seems, had any clear ideas on the subject. But in the course of time an unexpected incident happened, which necessitated our deciding whether the island should be regarded as a colony pure and simple, or as an integral part of Japan itself.

This incident was nothing less than the dismissal of Mr. Takenori Takano, the Chief Justice of Formosa. When requested to surrender his official position on the ground of inefficiency, Mr. Takano protested, but was at last removed by force. The grounds for his protest were that he as Chief Justice of Formosa was protected by the Constitution, held office for life, and could not be dismissed against his will. To this, the Government replied that the provisions of the Constitution did not apply to Formosa, and that therefore Mr. Takano, as a matter of course, could not enjoy the protection guaranteed by the Constitution. A consideration of the colonial policy pursued in such cases by a liberal country like Great Britain, will show that there is much justice in this explanation. In all British colonies, excepting only those which enjoy the privilege of a responsible government, all judges are appointed by the Home Government, and may be discharged at any time by the Home Government, by the Governor, or by the Council of the Colony.¹ It is nevertheless clear that public opinion in Japan approved Mr. Takano's protest, and looked upon the Government's action as a gross injustice, but this opinion was based not on legal or constitutional principles, but was altogether caused by the nation's ill-feeling towards the Colonial Minister then in office, upon whose shoulders the bulk of the blame was laid. Mr. Takano, in truth, chose the right time to avail himself of the antagonism which the public so commonly feels against the Government whose acts they are ready to judge hastily. When, however, we consider the case coolly, as we may do now that several years have passed, we shall understand the justice of the Government's position, for it is indisputable that the island of Formosa is only a colony, and it is almost a recognised principle among the powers that the Constitution of the home country shall not be applied in a newly acquired possession.

¹ *British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas*, by Sir H. Jenkyns.

Students of politics differ widely in their definitions as to what constitutes a colony, but it is usual at present to employ the term in its widest sense. In her laws and regulations England calls all her possessions, with the exception of the Isle of Man and British India, colonies. Some one may say that as Formosa is so near Kiushiu it cannot be regarded as a colony. The proximity to the home country, however, in no way lessens the fundamental differences which exist in matters of physical condition, traditions, language and race. In fact, the island of Formosa, where we, Japanese, have come to establish our power and influence over a native population of 3,000,000 people differing widely from us in traditions, customs, language, race and physical conditions, can only be regarded as a colony, and therefore the island can only be governed in accordance with the examples and precedents furnished by other colonial powers.

There is no country in the world which prizes liberty and constitutional government so highly as England; but even England, with all her liberal-minded ideas, finds it impossible to apply her Constitution to her colonies. The reason why some of them do enjoy as much liberty as the home country is because the English settlers brought it with them as their heritage.

Western Australia first became a British colony in 1829 and resident Englishmen clamoured again and again to be allowed to have a responsible government. But the British home authorities, feeling the time had not come, promised to accede to the wishes of the people as soon as the entire population of the colony amounted to 60,000. This promise the British Government fulfilled in 1893 when the population reached the specified number.

The Americans, eager votaries as they are of liberty and democracy, were unable when they first obtained possession of the Philippines to admit the islands into the Union on an equal footing with the other States. This can only be done when the American residents are superior to the Philippines either in influence or number.

Japan, who has herself enjoyed the privileges of a Constitution but a few years, and has therefore acquired but little experience as yet, would be rash indeed, were she to introduce it at once into Formosa. It is a doctrine of politics that the

inhabitants of a newly acquired land cannot enjoy the privileges of the Constitution, unless by a specific notification issued by the sovereign of the mother-country. Constitutional government is granted in consideration of the conditions of the country, and is a contract to be strictly observed by the inhabitants of the country and by their descendants, and should be highly prized by all citizens as one of their most precious privileges. If the Japanese Empire should, in disregard of these easily understandable reasons, venture to apply the Constitution to Formosa, the only result will be commotion and disorder. Under the Constitution, Japanese and Formosans would enjoy equal civic and political rights, and it would be impossible to discriminate between the ruling and the conquered races, as is done in Hong Kong, where the population is divided into four classes of widely different political status, British citizens, colonial subjects, registered and unregistered Chinese. The spread of Japanese influence and immigration would be checked. Summary measures of repression such as are resorted to in case of need would be impossible; the savages could not be placed under restrictions as they are now, and the authorities would be greatly hampered in the maintenance of order.

Again, constitutional government can only be introduced when affection towards the mother-country and also the sense of self-reliance have been fully developed in the minds of the people. But the Chinese in Formosa are as foreign to us Japanese, as are the savages themselves, and the Formosan Chinese have no more love for Japan than some of the foreigners residing in Tokyo. To give them the privileges of our Constitution would be to teach them to rise up in revolt against us.

Possibly some one may say, "Allow the Japanese residents in the island to enjoy the privileges of the Constitution, but by all means exclude the natives and savages". But if the benefits of the Constitution are given to the people of the mother-country, the Government must also grant them to those Formosans, who have become naturalised as Japanese citizens through having lived a short time in Japan. For political reasons, therefore, the Constitution cannot yet be introduced into Formosa. Such a course must be postponed until the Japanese residents have greatly increased, the benefits of education come to be more generally enjoyed, and the Formosan sense of loyalty towards

the home country has been more fully deepened and strengthened: then, and then only, can the same be safely introduced into the island by an ordinance of His Majesty the Emperor. Our statesmen have hitherto refrained from pronouncing a clear and unanimous opinion in regard to this matter, some maintaining that the Constitution should be introduced into the island at once, others that such a course would be most dangerous. Just at present (1904) the Government appears inclined to adopt the former view, and grant the Constitution at once, diametrically opposed though such a course is, not only to the actual prevailing conditions, but also to the true interests of the inhabitants.

If I were asked whether the present condition of things in Formosa could be met with in any constitutional empire, I should have to reply in the negative, and I must repeat that in my humble opinion, the man who considers that Formosa is ready for a Constitution really deceives himself, and closes his eyes to the actual and palpable facts. Such laws as Law No. 63, etc., lack decision and do not show clearly whether the Constitution is to be introduced or withheld. In fact, this law is simply a perfunctory regulation gilded over so as to impose on the people for a time. It seems to me that it would be far better to state clearly that Formosa is outside the Constitution. Surely the dullest person will acknowledge that the island is unlike any district in Japan, since it has its own distinct and special characteristics.

But as the authorities lack sufficient resolution and tact to create Formosa a distinct colony, and to allow it a special status, they pretend that the Constitution is in force in the island. Thus it comes about that many of the laws in force are altogether at variance with those in Japan. For example, the laws of Japan do not allow foreigners to own land, yet in Formosa Spanish missionaries own land, a fact fully recognised by both the home and the island authorities. Moreover, those laws which in Japan have binding force for all Japanese subjects become valid in Formosa only after the issue of an Imperial ordinance announcing that they are to be enforced in the island.

At present, the laws of the home country enforced in the island are the Civil, Commercial and Criminal Codes, and the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure together with the sup-

plementary laws. But it has been decided that all civil, commercial and criminal cases which only concern Formosans and Chinese shall be tried, not according to the laws of Japan, but in accordance with the manners, customs and time-honoured traditions prevailing in the island. (Law No. 8, 1898.) Then again, Order No. 54 which was issued by the Governor-General's Office in July, 1898, defines the supplementary laws referred to above as the following, *vis.* :—

The Laws for the Enforcement of the Civil and Commercial Codes, the Law Regulating Procedure in Civil Litigation, the Law Regulating Procedure in Non-Litigant Matters, the Law with regard to Auctions, the Rules appended to the Civil and Criminal Codes, Law No. 101 of 1890, the Supplementary Law for the Enforcement of the Commercial Code, Law No. 13 of 1900 concerning the Recognition of Wills in accordance with the provisions of Articles 1079 and 1081 of the Civil Code, Law No. 17 of 1900 concerning the cases in which under the Commercial Code signatures are required, and Law No. 69 of 1900 respecting Insurance.

Again, in 1899, Ordinance No. 8 provides that the laws regarding Criminal and Civil Procedure and the subsidiary laws shall be applicable to criminal and commercial cases which concern only Formosans and Chinese. Ordinance No. 24 of 1899 provides that Articles 240 and 241 shall be binding on Formosans, Chinese and Japanese alike. The whole of the laws concerning accounts and inventories are valid in Formosa, as also are the following laws of 1899, *vis.* : Laws No. 40, 53, 66, 68 and 94, concerning nationalisation, with the exception of Article 11.

Thus the provisions of the home country are enforced in the island as temporary measures. Of course, it goes without saying that, sooner or later as the manners and customs of the islanders, their ideas of law and order, and their conceptions of right and wrong are so unlike ours, special Civil and Criminal Codes must be compiled for them. With this object in view, the authorities have appointed a Committee to investigate the old customs and traditions, preparatory to the codification of the civil laws. From this fact we can very easily infer, that Formosa is not to be placed under the same laws and rules as the home country. Further, an export duty is imposed on

various articles, such as cleft canes, hemp thread, dried fish, refined Borneo camphor and meat; while Japan levies an import duty on Formosan alcohol on its arrival at Moji.

From these facts, it may easily be observed that the relations between Japan and Formosa are like those existing between Great Britain and Australasia, which maintain the policy of reciprocal taxation. Every year, however, the relations between Japan and Formosa must become more and more complicated according as the island industries prosper and trade increases. The writer therefore hopes that Japan will soon come to look upon Formosa as a pure colony, and that the day may speedily dawn when the results obtained by such observations may be embodied in a policy regulating its relations with the mother-country.

It is entirely due to the personal abilities of the authorities now in office, that in spite of the ambiguous relations existing between Formosa and Japan, no special difficulty has yet arisen. This happy state of affairs cannot however go on for ever. Many difficulties will unquestionably arise when the present able officials bid farewell to the island, unless before that time the constitutional status of the country has been definitely determined.

The power vested in the Governor-General is similar to that held by the Governors of the British Crown Colonies, while, with regard to military matters, it more closely resembles that of the French Colonial Governors. Great Britain holds that the characteristic of a Crown Colony is that it is governed by a council elected and appointed by royal order.¹ In this respect Formosa resembles a British Crown Colony. The Council of Formosa, before which the Governor-General lays his ordinances for approval, is by virtue of the official organisation of the island, composed entirely of members appointed by himself. This Council consists of:—

The Chief of the Civil Administration, the Chiefs of the Military and Naval Staffs, the Chief Councillor, the Chief of the Court of Appeal, the Chief Inspector of the Court of Appeal, the Chief of Police, the Director of each Bureau, one Councillor, two officials who have in addition the duties of Councillors, and three (or less) Commissioners.

¹ Annual Report of the Colonial Department.

This Council is equivalent to the Executive Council of the Crown Colonies of Great Britain or to the Superior Council of a French Colony. For example, the Hong Kong Executive Council consists of the following:—

The Senior Military Officer in Command, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Colonial Treasurer, the Director of Public Works, the Principal Civil Medical Officer and two residents appointed by the Governor.

There is also a Legislative Council, of which the Governor is President. This Council is composed as under, *viz.*:—

The Senior Military Officer in Command, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Harbour Master, the Colonial Treasurer, the Director of Public Works, the Captain Superintendent of Police, and six unofficial members, one of whom is elected by the Chamber of Commerce and another by the Justices of the Peace. The four others, two of whom are Chinese, but British subjects, are appointed by the Governor.

The Superior Council of French Indo-China is organised as under, *viz.*:—

The Governor-General who is the President, the General Commanding the Troops, the Commander-in-Chief of the China Squadron, the Resident Vice-Superior of Cochin China, the Residents Superior of Tonkin, Annam and Cambodia, the Directors of each Bureau, a representative of the Laos Administration, five other officials, the President of the Colonial Council of Cochin China, the Chairmen of the Saigon, Hanoi and Haiphong Chambers of Commerce, of the Cochin China and Tonkin Chambers of Agriculture, the Chairmen of the Annam and Cambodian Mixed Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture, and two native members appointed by the Governor-General.

There is also an Administrative Council composed entirely of Government officials.¹

A comparison of the above organisations will show that the system adopted in Formosa rather follows that in force in the English colonies. The only difference lies in the fact that while the former is entirely composed of purely administrative officials, the latter includes a few citizens appointed by the Governor.

¹ *India and China Directory.*

From what has been said thus far, the reader must not infer that in Formosa the wishes of the natives are wholly ignored. On the contrary, there are a few native members of the councils, who are consulted as to the advisability of the laws and rules passed by the Council, and whose opinions are adopted if deemed worthy. The writer cannot but earnestly wish that the present condition of the island may be speedily improved, and that there may be found able Japanese, who, being thoroughly conversant with the feelings and sentiments of the native population, shall command their respect and be appointed by the Governor-General to seats on the Colonial Council.

Among the officials belonging to the Governor-General's Office, the Chief of the Civil Administration Bureau and the Chief Councillor are of Chokunin rank; while the General Police Inspector and the Chiefs of the four bureaus are of Chokunin or Sonin rank. There are also four advisers, fifteen commissioners, three police inspectors, sixteen engineers, four marine officials, and five interpreters, all of whom are of Sonin rank. Of the engineering staff, two may be of Chokunin rank. In addition to all these, there are 320 sub-officials of Hannin rank, including clerks, police-sergeants, engineers, and interpreters. At the head of each Cho Administration Office there is a director of Sonin rank. The total number of sub-officials of Hannin rank to be employed in the island is fixed at 1,230.

There are also the Monopoly Bureau, the Temporary Bureaus for Topographical Investigation, for sugar manufacturing, and for investigating the old customs and manners, the Custom Houses, Educational Institutions, Medical Schools, Medical Offices and Bureaus, Post and Telegraph Offices, the School for Training Policemen and Jailors, the Courts of Justice, Prisons, etc.

The officials connected with these institutions are, with a few exceptions, selected by examination. In addition to the ordinary examination in which special importance is attached to the administrative laws relating to the island, the candidates are examined in one of the following optional subjects:—

The outlines of political economy, geography, history, book-keeping, Formosan conversation and composition, one

foreign language.¹ Hitherto it has been considered sufficient if the officials have been as well educated as those holding similar positions in Japan; but now it is felt to be most important that they should also have a working knowledge of Formosan. I think, however, we might safely go a step further and make Formosan a compulsory subject of examination. Further, I should like to see all the higher officials, from the Directors of Cho down, required to pass a special examination in such branches of knowledge as are requisite in administering a colony like Formosa. The colonial success of the Dutch is undoubtedly due to the fact that all candidates for civil colonial posts are required to pass a rigorous examination in the language, geography, history and anthropology of the colony to which they intend to go, while all candidates for the judicial staff are also required to be well versed in Mussulman as well as in Dutch national law. Some day similar regulations will, I believe, be made in regard to Formosa.

While I was in the island, a young man, a University graduate, applied to the Chief of the Civil Administration Bureau for a position. The Chief replied, "If you really wish me to employ you, you must commence at the bottom rung of the ladder, and begin by being office boy. If you show yourself worthy of confidence, you shall, after a suitable time of probation, be given a higher position." In this way, the law graduate was obliged to take the lowest position. This is only one example of the close attention paid at present by the higher authorities in Formosa to the selection and training of the civil officials in the island. Wherever I went, to market or fair, and whatever officials I met, I was deeply impressed by the fact that the colonial officials were not actuated by mere mechanical formalism, but by the living personality of the Governor-General himself. In Japan, the sub-officials seem too often to be the masters of the various departments, while the Ministers of State and other high officials act as though they were mere visitors, obliged to ask their underlings for information on almost every point. But in Formosa the position is reversed, the Governor-General is the real principal, the genuine head of the whole colonial government.

¹ *Governor-General's Official Gazette*, October, 1898.

It may perhaps be not amiss to take here a brief survey of the salaries and other remuneration which the Formosan officials receive. Their services are recompensed in two ways, the one honorary, the other by actual salary. In Japan, as yet, special honours have never been conferred on any official for valuable and meritorious services in colonial affairs. Great Britain, however, adopts a different course. Some years ago, she even went so far as to knight the present Sir Conrad Leaver, who was born in Barbadoes of mixed blood, making him a Chief Justice in recognition of his long and highly esteemed services. This generous and politic action on the part of the colonial authorities had a most beneficial effect on the minds of the natives, far beyond all expectation. If the British Government treats the natives so well, surely she will treat the British residents even more generously.

To cite an example. A certain person was appointed a county official in Dominica at a salary of \$1,500, and the following year was promoted to be Director of the Registration Bureau. After two years' service he was transferred to Bermuda as secretary to the Colonial Government of that island. Six years later he received a similar position at Gibraltar, and in the following year was decorated with the most honourable order of St. Michael and St. George. Six years later he became Vice-Governor of Gibraltar. This is but one example out of many, and is not at all remarkable when we remember that Great Britain is noted for the generous manner in which she treats her colonial officials. Some are made Privy Councillors, others are decorated with various orders, such as the Bath, the Star of India, St. Michael and St. George, being often admitted into the limited ranks of the Knights of the Grand Cross, while others again are raised to the peerage. As Great Britain treats her officials so generously, she finds no difficulty in securing the services of really able and efficient men, the Government being thus served faithfully and well.

Of course it is but natural that people from temperate zones should dislike living in the tropics. We, Japanese, for instance, who are accustomed to live in a salubrious clime amidst lovely scenery, find life under the scorching sun of the tropics a continual agony. I fear, therefore, that, unless our authorities are willing to offer special inducements, they will soon find that

none but those of very medium ability will be willing to take up colonial positions.

Then, again, as to their actual salaries. In Japan, the Prime Minister receives Yen 8,000 a year, while the Ministers of State receive Yen 6,000 each. In addition to these sums, each Minister of State receives a special present from the Emperor twice a year, so that including these, they each receive as a rule about double the amount of their stated salaries. Now according to the official organisation of Formosa, the emoluments of the higher officials there are as under, *viz.* :—

	Yen.
Governor-General	6,000
Chief of the Civil Administration	4,000 or 4,500
Chief Councillor	} 3,000 or 3,500
Chief Railway Engineer	
Engineers of Chokunin Rank	
Inspector-General of Police	} 3,000
Directors of Bureaus of Chokunin Rank	

By Imperial Ordinance No. 100 of March, 1896, it was provided that each colonial official should receive 30 per cent. additional salary; it is further provided that all officials, who may have served more than three years consecutively, are entitled to an annual additional increase amounting to 5 per cent. of their regular salaries, but this increase must not exceed 50 per cent. of the regular salary. Thus the Governor-General's remuneration might amount to Yen 9,000, while the Director of a Bureau might receive Yen 4,500.

In Great Britain, however, the Prime Minister, who is often also the Minister for Foreign Affairs, or the First Lord of the Treasury, receives £5,000 (Yen 50,000); each Secretary of State also receives on an average £5,000 (Yen 50,000). The Lord Chief Justice receives £10,000, while the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster has £4,000. The salaries of the Colonial Governors vary according to the population of the colonies. For example, the Viceroy of India receives R. 250,800; the Governor of Madras, R. 122,000; of Bombay, R. 120,000; of Burmah, R. 100,000. The Governor of Natal receives £5,000; the Governor of Canada, £10,000; the Chief of the Cabinet, who is equivalent to the Chief of the Civil Administration Bureau in Formosa, has £1,600, while each Cabinet Minister receives £1,400. In the Commonwealth of

Australia, each Minister of State receives £12,000; in New South Wales the salary of the Governor is £7,000, while the Ministers of State average £1,370. Even in such a small place as Fiji the Governor receives £3,000. In the Dutch colony of Java the Governor-General has \$100,000 in gold, and an additional allowance of \$60,000 for entertainment expenses; each State Minister is paid \$15,000, and each Local Governor \$6,000 with certain additional allowances. As Java has an area of 49,000 square miles and a population of 24,000,000 and is thus much larger than Formosa, it is but natural that the officials should receive more, still the rates of remuneration seem high in comparison. Of course the sole aim of the officials ought not to be to make as much money as possible, they should always act from a sense of honour and patriotism; but man is so constituted that his conduct is greatly affected by the largeness or smallness of his remuneration. In order to check the constant tendency of the officials to leave the island for better positions, their remuneration should be increased so as to induce them to devote their whole lives to open up this hot sun-scorched island so many hundreds of miles away from their native shores. For it is certain that our work as colonists will not stop with Formosa.

The above chapter was written in 1904. The following year, when the period for which Law No. 63 had been issued was about to expire, a Bill was passed by the Diet extending its efficacy until after the war with Russia. At the same time the Governor-General proposed an independent system of administration, but, as the Government could not then come to a decision, it was decided that the present system should continue in force until the conclusion of peace. It should also be noted that the Land Investigation Bureau was abolished in the spring of the same year. (Written 25th March, 1905.)

CHAPTER III.

FORMOSA IN THE PAST.

SECTION I.—FORMOSA UNDER THE PIRATES.

Origin of the Formosans—First mention of the Island as Loochoo in Chinese history, A.D. 605—Appearance of Formosans on Chinese coasts, twelfth century—Fruitless Chinese attempts at conquest—Paalmanazar's account—The Emperor Chung Ho visits Formosa—Ming historian's description of the natives—First notice of Japanese pirates, Chinese mission to Japan to demand suppression of piracy—The Japanese establish a base in Formosa and extend their depredations—Chinese emigration to the island—Aborigines gradually driven into the mountains—Pirates, pioneers of commerce—Establishment of a Japanese colony.

IN spite of the many theories that have been advanced, the origin of the aborigines found in Formosa is still undecided. Some consider them to be a mixed race descended from a union of Malayan with either Negrito or Loochooan stock. Others believe that the Formosans in the East, and the people of Madagascar in the West, are both alike remnants of the same pure Malayan stock that spread itself out in opposite directions, just like an opened fan. According to a third theory, they are descended from the same root as the Miao hill tribes, the aborigines of Kweichau in China. Judging from the houses and from their physical characteristics, it seems likely that the island was really peopled by stragglers from the wave of migration which, following the warm ocean current, eventually settled in Japan. If so, the Formosans are really related to us Japanese. Far be it from me, however, to encroach on the sphere of the anthropologist. I shall limit myself to the account of the island's past as it is found in the historical records.

The natives themselves called Formosa¹ Pak-an or Pak-ande; but the Chinese called it Loochoo. The latter name

¹ *Formosa under the Dutch*, p. 1.

appears first in the history of the Sui dynasty, which was overthrown in A.D. 620. The historian says:—

“In the first year of Tayei (A.D. 605), the navigator Hu Man and others reported that in spring and autumn when the weather was fine and there was no wind, a smoky haze might be seen across the sea extending for many hundreds of miles along the eastern horizon. Two years later, the Emperor Yang sent an exploring party, under the leadership of a cavalry officer belonging to the Imperial Guard, named Shu Kwan. Ho Man told them what he and others had seen, and went with them to Loochoo. They reached the island, but could hold no communication with the inhabitants, as the language was different. They therefore captured one of the natives and returned home. . . . About the year A.D. 611, an armed expedition set sail from Gian, under the command of Chen Ling. After sailing east for two days, they reached the Turtle Islands (Pescadores), and the next day arrived at Loochoo. But the natives refused to acknowledge the Emperor and would by no means agree to pay tribute as his willing subjects. The soldiers attacked them, and, in spite of their obstinate resistance, defeated them two or three times and entered their capital which they burnt. Thousands of men and women were captured and taken to China, besides much valuable booty.”

Now the town which is here called Gian, is the present city of Ch'ao-chou in Kwangtung, and the island Loochoo means Formosa.

At this time the people of Formosa were very fierce and held no communication at all with other countries, differing much in this respect from the Loochooans who greatly admired and loved their powerful neighbours Japan and China, and frequently sent embassies to both courts. Thus the court of China, hearing that there was an island in the stormy southern ocean, concluded at once that it must be Loochoo, and so carelessly gave that name to Formosa. But the name does not appear again in Chinese historical records for several hundred years.

Towards the close of the twelfth century, several hundred Bishana men, led by giant chiefs, suddenly appeared in some of the small sea-coast villages on the Fokien coast, robbing and pillaging the houses. They seemed specially intent upon secur-

ing iron, and carried off even the iron door rings of the houses. They also tried to gain possession of all the armour they saw. So much did they value the iron points of their spears that, after throwing the weapon at the enemy, they pulled it back by the aid of a line a hundred feet long which was attached to it. These Bishana men were evidently Formosans.

Speaking of the island, the Chinese geographers say :—

“It lies beyond the Pescadores, and stretches from Chusan to Fokien. Its northern, western and southern shores are washed by the ocean ; but at the Pescadores the water suddenly falls ; and, on nearing Loochoo, there is what is called a whirlpool. If fishing boats from the west are caught in a typhoon below the Pescadores and are carried towards this whirlpool, not one in a hundred is ever seen again.”

About the year 1280, the Emperor of Ch'eng Tsung fitted out an expedition, under the command of Admiral Yang Tsiang, for the conquest of Loochoo. This expedition steered for Formosa, but when the admiral saw that it was not the island which he had been commanded to attack, he withdrew at once.

Sixteen years later, General Chang How sent a new army to Loochoo, which brought back 130 captives.

In 1367, a governor was sent to the Pescadores and the islands were made a part of Tung-an Prefecture. During the succeeding two or three hundred years, no further mention is made of Loochoo in Chinese history.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries peace prevailed throughout China, the Emperor's authority was greatly extended and communications were opened with the remotest provinces. Loochoo was distinguished from Formosa and was called Yakushima, and even the name of the King Shoka is found in the records of this period.

G. Psalmanazar, a reputed native of the island, who was educated in England, writes in his *Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa*, published in 1704, that it was once ruled over by a native king. He says :—

“The Isle Formosa had been governed for some ages by one king, whom the natives called Bagalo in their language, and the one immediately below the King in authority was called by the natives Tano. But almost two hundred years ago the Emperor of Tartary invaded this Isle and subdued it ; which

continued under the dominion of the Tartars until the third Generation. But the third Emperor, being an austere Tyrannical Prince, who was very cruel to the Natives, did so provoke their natural rage, that at last they did all with one consent take up arms, and drove his Deputy and Forces all out of the Country. They restored their Natural Prince to the rightful throne of his Ancestors. At this time Meryaandanoo reigned in Japan. In order to make a conquest of the island, he sent a letter to the King of the island, saying, 'being afflicted with a very grievous Disease and having endeavoured by my Oblations to pacify the Gods of my Country that I might recover my Health, I have found all my endeavours hitherto ineffectual. And therefore having a great Veneration for your God, of whose great Power and Goodness I am fully persuaded, I want to send Beasts to be offered in Sacrifice to your God for the Recovery of my Health.' Then the King commanded his Priests to consult their God whether he should grant it. Receiving an affirmative answer, the Emperor of Japan presently commanded a great Army to be made ready and ordered the Soldiers to be put in great Litters . . . and to prevent any suspicion of the Formosans they placed Oxen or Rams to be seen at the Windows of the Litters. Thus he covertly conveyed a numerous army into the Isle of Formosa . . . the numerous Chariots were divided into three parts, the greatest of which was sent into the Capital City Xternetsa and the two other parts into two other Cities called Bigno and Khadzey. The King and the people were all panic stricken and surrendered themselves to the Japanese. . . . And from that time the Emperor of Japan sends a King into the Isle Formosa as the superintendent King. But he who was King before in that Isle is only as a Bagalandro or Viceroy or one that is next to the King in Dignity without any Power."

But Dr. D. Reiss in his *Geschichte der Insel Formosa* says: "The writer of the above is not a Formosan at all, but a smart citizen of southern France whose work is altogether undependable".

Even at the close of the Ming dynasty (1660), Formosa was known by the name of Kiloung. The inhabitants were not united, but consisted of several distinct tribes. The Ming historian says :—

"As the island lies to the north-east of the Pescadores, it is sometimes called Pekiang (North Harbour) and also the 'Land of the Eastern Savages'. It is not very far from the city of Changchow, and is a country full of high mountains and dangerous marshes. It is not governed by one ruler but is inhabited by fifteen tribes, the largest consisting of a thousand men, and the smallest of five or six hundred. The people pay no taxes nor do they do any public labour. Those who have the largest number of children are considered the strongest and are obeyed by the others. Though they live in an island, they are afraid of the sea and are not skilful in managing boats. They have no intercourse with neighbouring countries."

In the period of Yung Lo (1403-1424), the Emperor Chung Ho went round to see all the countries in the Empire. Everywhere he went, the people tried who could be the first to come and present him with beautiful jewels; only the eastern savages kept at a distance. The powerful Emperor Chung Ho hated them for this and sent a small copper bell to the head of each household in the island, compelling them to wear this suspended from their necks as if they were dogs. The simple natives, however, came later to consider this custom as honourable, saying it had been handed down from their ancestors, and the rich among them began to wear several bells.

The natives are described as very brave and hardy. They spend their leisure practising running. Many can run a hundred miles a day just like horses. The skin of their feet is wonderfully thick, so that they can tread on thorns and brambles without hurt. The men are quite naked. The women make a sort of skirt out of grasses and cover themselves with it. When the women meet elderly persons, or those of higher rank than themselves on the road, they step to one side and turn their backs until the others have gone past. When they see the young grass spring up, they think spring has come and sow their grain. When the seed sprouts, they think Heaven is blessing them, and so stop fighting and endeavour to do good, thinking to repay Heaven. As to their clothing, they hunt after deer and shoot birds and dress up with the feathers. They are in truth a most primitive people. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, they were obliged to forsake their

land of blessing and flee to the mountains far away from the abodes of other men.

When Tai Tsu, the first Emperor of the Ming dynasty, was enthroned in 1368, those Chinese who did not care to accommodate themselves to the new order of things, joined with the Japanese sea-faring folks in pillaging the coasts of Swatow. These Japanese pirates, as the Chinese called them, consisted mainly of people from Kiushiu and the neighbouring provinces. The following year an envoy was sent to Japan to negotiate in regard to their suppression. He did not succeed in reaching either Yoshino or Kyoto, but only saw Prince Kanenaga, who was at that time the greatest chieftain in Kiushiu and called himself "King of Japan". This prince utterly refusing to open negotiations, the envoy left and the Japanese pirates continued their depredations on the coasts of Fokien.

The following year another envoy arrived on the same errand. To him the prince as the Emperor's representative said, "Many years ago a certain man named Cho came here as an envoy from Mongolia, and made many flattering speeches; but no sooner had he left than an enormous army came over from Mongolia to attack us. Your name is also Cho, and I am afraid you intend to do just as your namesake did." Cho replied giving an account of the revolutions which had occurred in China, and assured the Prince that it was not his intention to act so shamefully. Thereupon the Prince pardoned him and allowed him to take back to China seventy Chinese whom the Japanese had captured.

In 1373 the Japanese pirates again attacked the Chinese coasts, going as far as Fokien. At this the Chinese Emperor was very indignant. Remembering, however, how the Mongolian invaders of Japan had all perished, he did not venture to take up arms; but published instructions, which he professed to have received from his ancestors, saying there were fifteen countries with which China must never go to war, and Japan was one of them.

From this time the Japanese pirates made regular annual raids on the Chinese coasts, pillaging the line from Fokien to Chehkiang and Kwangtung. The Shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, who much admired the Chinese civilisation, and wished to enter into friendly relations with the Chinese Emperor, captured some

of the Japanese pirates and sent them over to the Emperor. But even Ashikaga with all his mighty power was unable to put down the pirates, and so, for over two hundred years, all the belt of coast from Shantung to Fokien suffered constant attacks.

The bandits in China also made common cause with the Japanese pirates and introduced them into their own country. Such people as Sung Iban and Hwang Chowtai, the head bandits of Kwangtung, for instance, associated themselves with the Japanese, and the Chinese pirates under the leadership of Yan Suchi, Gwa Hwai-i, and Ho Bien called themselves "Japanese Tortoise-shell," the word tortoise-shell signifying pirate chiefs. About the year 1560, most of the Japanese pirates left Shantung and gathered in Changchow and Fokien. All the people from Hunan to Canton began complaining of the Japanese outrages. Throughout the whole of this district the people forsook the cities, towns and villages, and ran away paralysed with terror, whenever they caught sight of the Japanese pirates in their red coats and yellow helmets approaching, holding up their flags of "Hachiman Daibosatsu".¹

On one occasion, seventy or eighty of these pirates wasted the country from Kiang-ning to Nankin, killing or wounding over 4,000 people. The whole neighbourhood was terrorised so that, for years after, the Chinese mothers stopped their children crying by telling them that, if they cried, the Japanese pirates would hear them and carry them off. Such was the awe in which these Japanese pirates were held.

At first the pirates went from Kiushiu to Shantung; but, afterwards, when they extended their raids to Chehkiang and Fokien, and discovered a base of operations in Formosa, their power and influence were greatly increased. In describing Kiloung (Formosa) the Ming historian says:—

"Towards the end of Kia-tsing (1522-1566) the Japanese pirates attacked Fokien; but, being defeated by the Chinese general Tsih Kikwang, they fled away to this island, pillaged Kiloung and grievously wasted the country. Thither Lin Taokien followed them. Fearing, however, that they might in-

¹ The Japanese Emperor Ojin, who lived about A.D. 270, was, after his death, deified under the title "Hachiman Daibosatsu," and thus came to be regarded as the patron deity of all warriors. (TRANSLATOR.)

FORMOSA IN THE PAST

duce all his men to join them or else that the Chinese army would pursue him, he sailed straight across to Puhni, and having overcome all obstacles, built the port of Taokien. / At first the Chinese lived on the coast, but being attacked by the Japanese pirates, they gradually found their way into the mountains. About the end of Wan-lih (1573-1619), the Red-haired savages (the Dutch) came in boats and began ploughing and sowing, and built a city which was called Taiwan."

The Taokien, spoken of here, is the same place as the present Anping. According to this record, the Japanese made their first appearance in Formosa in the period of Kia-ting; but the strong probability is that they made Formosa their base, when they first commenced raiding the coasts of Fokien.

While the Japanese were thus attacking the northern part of the island, the Chinese were pressing on the southern part. Though China has experienced many changes of dynasty, these changes have only occurred about once every two or three hundred years, and thus this extremely prolific race has had abundant opportunity for increasing. This increase was especially noticeable during the earlier part of the fifteenth century. Moreover, at that time China seems to have had considerable colonizing power, and her coast population at any rate became very prosperous through the riches they secured from the Southern Seas (Formosa).

Though in the Chinese social system, each family appears at first sight to be autonomous, such is not the case. In reality, the leading families absolutely control all the others. Those who submit to this despotism enjoy a large measure of peace and happiness; but those who refuse to submit are forced to become either wandering brigands or pirates. This has been the way under every dynasty, and comes about because the Government is not strong enough to protect the poorer classes from the tyranny of the wealthy. As Formosa was without a ruler, it not only became the favourite resort of those who wished to escape their pursuers, but also proved a hiding-place for criminals and other fugitives from justice, besides providing a most convenient resting-place for the pirates, who indeed made it their headquarters. It was also said that the hills, fields and plains were to be had simply for the taking. These reports so moved the hearts of the Chinese coast population, that

thousands of them left everything and swarmed over to the island. It is especially remarkable that not only the southern districts but also the plains in the north were thus peopled by the sturdy men from Shansi. The old history of Kwangtung and Shantung says :—

“Formosa, standing alone in the Eastern Sea, extends for more than 1,000 li. The land is easily ploughed and very fertile, so there are many wealthy families. The people are very easily excited and hard to pacify. They wander about from place to place, and if a few of them get together, a crowd quickly gathers and there is great excitement. Those who have no permanent residence, and those who pick up food by the wayside, having no wives or children to love and no farms or houses to be comfortable in, flock over to the island like herons.”

Most of those who thus swarmed across the strait from the Chinese coasts landed first at Takow, Hozan or in the neighbourhood of Tainan. Afterwards making their way further north, they drove away the savages into the mountains. At first, when the settlers wished to clear any land or cultivate any fields, they recognised that the land really belonged to the savages and agreed to pay them a yearly rent. But, after a time, they stopped paying anything and even secured more land, telling the savages they would pay later. Afterwards, however, when the land was cleared and they were strong enough, they attacked the savages and forced them to flee for their lives. Thus the Chinese settlers and the natives came to hate each other, and the Chinese even went so far as to eat the flesh of the savages. In some such manner the Japanese pirates and the Chinese freebooters drove the savages gradually further and further away from the coast, and forced them to take refuge in the mountains.

These pirates were really the pioneers of foreign trade. Their ships visited Borneo, Malacca, Annam, Siam, Tonkin, Saigon, Cambodia and the Philippines, venturing at times even as far as Mexico, and carrying the treasures of the southern and eastern oceans backwards and forwards. As long as they were in a foreign port, the sailors behaved like respectable merchants, and when they returned to Japan and China they brought back so much valuable timber and so many curious jewels that the hearts of all the adventurers in Japan and China were fascin-

ated, and the people were convinced that the islands of the sea were an inexhaustible store of gold and jewels.

The trade thus commenced by the pirates was regarded by the nation with hope and finally authorised by the Government. In 1592, merchants of Nagasaki, Kyoto and Sakai, having obtained special Government licences, opened head offices in Formosa, which island was then recognised as the haunt of the pirates. These merchants gave the island, or rather the belt of land from Takow to Anping, the name of Takasago, because the scenery was so much like that to be found at Takasago in Harima. The vast profits of their trade were made use of by the politicians in Hideyoshi's Cabinet.

In 1609, after Iyehisa Shimazu had subjugated Loochoo, the Shogun, Iyeyasu, sent an envoy to Formosa and invited the inhabitants to become his subjects, but as they had no ruler the mission proved fruitless. Six years later, Toan Murayama, the governor of Nagasaki, attempted the conquest of the island with his own soldiers, but was defeated. On his return to Japan, he was executed by order of the Government.

In spite of these failures, the Japanese adventurers were not discouraged, but persisted in their efforts to stretch out southwards. At last a Japanese colony was established. From this naval base, they ruled over the Pacific, sometimes in co-operation and sometimes in competition with the Chinese, who, coming as they did from various provinces in China, formed different tribes each with its own independent elder. The greatest leader of these Chinese pirates was Yan Suchi, who dubbed himself the Japanese Chief, and exercised authority over a wide circle in co-operation with his Japanese helpers. Ching Chi-lung who succeeded him often visited Nagasaki. Such was the state of affairs in Formosa before its occupation by the Dutch and Spaniards.

CHAPTER III. (*Continued*).

FORMOSA IN THE PAST.

SECTION II.—FORMOSA UNDER THE DUTCH AND SPANIARDS.

First European settlements in the East—The Portuguese name Formosa—The Dutch reach Formosa—Their relations with previous occupants—Their successful methods—The Japanese settlers become restive—Hamada Yahei fits out an expedition against the Dutch—Hamada's second expedition—He captures the Dutch Governor, but is compelled to withdraw—Japanese settlements given up—The Spaniards take Kelung in 1626; they are expelled in 1642—Prosperity of Formosa under Dutch rule.

WHILE China was harassed by the Japanese pirates on the east and by the Tartar hordes on the north, Japan herself was distracted with civil war. But at that time the European powers were all struggling together for the mastery of the sea, their cupidity and spirit of adventure having been aroused by the stories of the vast profits that could be acquired out of trade with the East.

The existence of a vast ocean north of India was first discovered by Europeans in 1510, the same year that Ashikaga Yoshitane fled from Kyoto to Omi on account of the disagreement that had arisen between Rokkaku and Hosokawa, two of his attendants. This ocean was called "The Pacific". The next year the Portuguese king, Emanuel the first, sent Andrade as ambassador to China. This expedition was well received. The strangers were given permission to trade and were allowed to anchor off the coast. Finally, in 1557, they were permitted to land and put up houses upon an island near the mouth of the Canton River, which they called Macau. As they sailed through the China Sea, they saw a large island in the distance, which on account of its beautiful appearance they called "Formosa". Thus the island which was first known as "Loochoo,"



OLD BUILDINGS AT TAINAN.

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INSCRIPTION WRITTEN BY SAVAGES AT THE TIME OF THE DUTCH OCCUPATION.

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then as "North Port," then as "The Land of the Eastern Savages," was now newly introduced to the whole world under the name of "Formosa".

The other European nations, Portugal's rivals, turned their attention to the East one after another. Spain secured Manila as her trading station in 1571, and the Dutch easily took possession of Java through their envoy Cornelius Houtman who visited the East with a fleet in 1595. A few years later the Dutch East India Company was organised. From their base in Java they made repeated assaults on Macau, but found themselves quite unable to oust the Portuguese. Six warships and 2,000 soldiers sent by them in 1622 met with no better success; they were forced to retreat to the Pescadores, where they fortified themselves. From this base they harried the sea-coast towns in the neighbourhood of Amoy, and thus greatly embarrassed the Chinese officials, afterwards sending commissioners to ask for a port and other privileges similar to those which the Portuguese had secured. After long negotiations, the Fokein authorities at last granted them permission to settle for commercial purposes on the large island, which at that time was still outside the strict Chinese dominions. This was in 1623. The Dutch lost no time. They at once occupied the present Anping, which was then a small island separate from the main island of Formosa. Here they built "Fort Zeelandia" and also a town which they called "Taiwan," while the whole of the main island was called Formosa. According to the Ming historian, the Dutch were the first to christen any part of the island, "Taiwan," as recorded above. I wonder whether this is not a corruption of "Tung-hwan," the Chinese equivalent for "Eastern Savages".

At first the Dutch behaved very well towards the Japanese and Chinese traders in Formosa, and promised to place no hindrances in their way. But when Castle Zeelandia was finished and they had also built Providentia Castle (Redhair Castle) at Tainan, they changed their attitude and began to impose an export duty on sugar and rice. The Chinese submitted to these imposts, though they murmured about them in private; but the Japanese residents refused to pay anything, claiming that as they were in the island before the Dutch arrived they were exempt. The Dutch relying upon the

strength of their castles and guns, endeavoured to enforce payment, but refrained from using strong measures because the Japanese threatened to take vengeance for any unfair dealing by interfering with the Dutch commerce at Nagasaki. For a long time both parties persisted in their claims and refused to make any concessions. At this time Chinese residents in the whole of Formosa are said to have numbered 25,000. The Japanese were not quite so numerous, yet they were more powerful, because they had more capital invested in the commerce of the island; but, though they had reached the island first, the Dutch, owing to their superiority in ships and arms, had become the masters and reaped huge profits.

In 1627, the expenses of the colony were 214,000 guilders (£17,250). After paying these, there remained for the Batavian Government a clear profit of 85,000 guilders. The Dutch had gone thus far in order to secure an open port in China, but their good fortune in acquiring such a valuable colony and their commercial success encouraged them to lay the foundation of perpetual government. They endeavoured to become popular by showing kindness to the savages. The Dutch language was taught; Dutch-Formosan dictionaries were compiled for the use of the natives; Christianity was preached; schools were opened, and education with all its blessings extended even to the native women; watercourses were improved and the cultivation of the soil was encouraged. We still find Redhair Spring near Kagi, and Redhair Town near Shinchiku. All the bricks for building Fort Zeelandia are said to have been brought from Batavia. These facts show that the Dutch were hoping to occupy the island permanently. The region in the immediate vicinity of their seat of government was divided into seven districts, each of which was governed under the Dutch by an elder chosen by the natives. The Dutch Government gave badges of honour to these elders, and thus extended their influence to the eastern shores of the island.

Though successful so far in their attempts to colonize, yet as they were a private company and not a Government enterprise, the policy they adopted was short-sighted and exclusively selfish. Moreover, the Japanese were specially headstrong and unmanageable, and were heartily detested by their Dutch rulers. Thus the two parties could never agree. These

difficulties came to a head in 1627 and resulted in serious trouble.

There lived at Nagasaki a leading pirate named Hamada Yahei. Having collected fifteen pieces of artillery and a large number of Chinese, he set sail in a large vessel for Formosa with more than 470 other sturdy adventurers. The ship obtained permission to navigate by posing as a common merchantman, but the real object of the expedition could not be concealed from the Dutch authorities at Taiwan.

When the ship entered the harbour, the Dutch authorities informed the captain that all arms must be landed and remain in charge of the Dutch police until she left port. To this the Japanese captain refused to agree. The Dutch Governor, Nuyts, not caring to use force, prepared a grand feast in his house to which he invited Yahei. Having made him drunk, he disarmed him and then sent soldiers to the ship, who pretended they had come from Yahei, and thus obtained delivery of all the arms on board. These they brought on shore. When Yahei became sober and found that his arms were missing, he boiled with anger, and seizing sixteen Shinkom natives, set sail immediately.

Fearing that the Japanese would wreak their revenge on the Dutch merchants at Nagasaki, Governor Nuyts sent them warning at once. He, at the same time, assured them that he would afford full protection to any honest and peaceable Japanese merchants who came to Formosa. He also went himself to Japan to try and allay any suspicions, which the Japanese Government might entertain with regard to the Dutch occupation. To his great astonishment, however, he found on reaching Japan that the sixteen natives whom Yahei had carried off, had all been received by the Shogun, the pretext being that they were plenipotentiaries bringing tribute from the Formosan native tribes. Governor Nuyts tried hard to show the utter absurdity of this, but his efforts were unavailing.

In April, 1628, the Japanese vessels visited Anping again. The Dutch authorities seized the arms found on board and imprisoned eleven out of the sixteen natives who had been allured to Yedo, but the Japanese captain raised no objection to these acts. Before leaving, he visited the Dutch Governor at his house outside the city wall. While they were talking together,

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a band of Japanese warriors with drawn swords sprang from the bushes and seized the Governor, who to his great surprise saw that Yahei was the leader. While he was still hesitating what was best to do, he was bound hand and foot. Those Dutch who attempted to rescue him were either killed or severely wounded, and though other Dutch soldiers rushed up to the house with guns, they only succeeded in wounding their fellow-countrymen. Seeing this, the Governor called out to his men not to fire, but to endeavour to make terms with the Japanese. To this the Dutch agreed, provided the Japanese were willing to adopt a peaceful attitude; but they informed the Governor that, though they wished if possible to save his life, they were quite prepared to annihilate the Japanese if they were found to be determined upon revenge. Yahei and his companions, recognising their own inferiority to the Dutch in point of numbers, signified their willingness to settle the matter peacefully. Delegates were appointed and the following conditions agreed to by both parties, *viz.* :—

1. Governor Nuyts' son, one Dutch officer (Mr. Muysart) and three other Dutchmen shall be handed over to the Japanese and be taken by them to Japan as hostages. Five Japanese, including the niece of Heizo Suetsugi, Vice-Governor at Nagasaki, shall be handed over to the Dutch and be taken by them in a Dutch ship to Japan where they shall be exchanged for the five Dutch hostages.

2. The eleven Shihkom natives and the two Chinese interpreters who have been captured and imprisoned by the Dutch shall be released, and all property which has been taken from them shall be restored.

3. Appropriate presents shall be presented to Yahei Hamada.

4. The twenty thousand catties of silk which the Japanese lost in China owing to the actions of the Dutch shall be restored.

Thus the crisis was averted. About this time, the Vice-Governor of Nagasaki, Heizo Suetsugi, imprisoned forty-six Dutchmen who accompanied Yahei to Japan. Three years later, Mr. Muysart and also Governor Nuyts' son died in prison and, about the same time, all the Japanese residents quitted Formosa, rather than submit to the Dutch authorities. Yahei's heroic attempt proved to be nothing but the final

flicker of the torch of Japanese enterprise in the island at that time.

Now the Spaniards had succeeded in establishing a trading station at Manila even before the Dutch secured Java. Becoming jealous therefore of the wonderful success which had fallen to the lot of their junior colonial rivals, they in February, 1626, despatched an expedition from Manila, under the command of Don Antonio Carreno de Valdes. They first seized Kelung and there erected a fort which they named San Salvador. They then captured the port of Tamsui, which they called San Domingo, set up a permanent Government, appointed civil officials, commenced to propagate their religion, and laid other foundations for the permanent occupation of the colony.

Unable to regard these acts with indifference, the Dutch Governor communicated the facts to the Government at Batavia on the one hand; and, on the other, carefully watched every move made by the Spaniards. When at last in 1640 the alliance between Spain and Portugal was dissolved, the Dutch decided to drive the Spaniards out of Formosa. The following year the Dutch Governor, Paulus Tradenius, sent an ultimatum to Kelung, threatening the Spaniards with an attack if they did not at once surrender. The Spanish Governor, Gonsalo Portilis, in reply, declared his determination to fight to the very last. Thereupon the Dutch despatched their warships, but, though they cannonaded both Kelung and Tamsui, they failed to make any impression and were forced to retreat. Shortly afterwards, the Spanish authorities at Manila recalled four companies of soldiers from Formosa for a campaign against the Mindanao Moors. As soon as the Dutch heard this, they again attacked Kelung, and though the few remaining Spanish soldiers fought gallantly and even managed to hold on for three weeks, they were forced at last to surrender, and the whole island came under Dutch dominion.

From this time the Dutch paid special attention to the civilisation of the country, giving the people good government, while the Dutch missionaries worked in unison with the authorities and did their utmost to help the natives to become more refined and respectable. In this way the native tribes came to serve the Dutch gladly. At this time, China was in a deeply disturbed state; misrule and constant court intrigues had com-

pletely alienated the sympathies of the people. The Tartar hordes were overrunning the north, while the Japanese pirates never ceased to ravage her sea-coast towns. No part of her vast dominions was secure from the bands of robbers and brigands who swarmed everywhere. Thus thousands of people were driven across the straits in the hope of securing peace and safety in Formosa. In the hands of these honest, hard-working toilers the industries of the island flourished exceedingly. In the year 1650, the poll-tax alone, which the Dutch levied on the new-comers, amounted to 33,700 reals, and during the same year the hunting-tax of one real per hunter produced 36,000 reals. All these facts encouraged the Dutch to indulge in the wildest of dreams, and to consider the future of their island home as most bright.

CHAPTER III. (*Continued*).

FORMOSA IN THE PAST.

SECTION III.—FORMOSA UNDER KOXINGA.

Unrest in China—The pirate chief Cheng Chi-lung—His growing power—Is succeeded by his son Koxinga—Koxinga, driven from the mainland, attacks Formosa in 1661—Fort Zeelandia capitulates after a heroic resistance—The Dutch leave the island with the honours of war—Koxinga's enlightened rule—He sends a mission to Manila to demand tribute—Koxinga's death in 1663—Cheng Ching, his son and successor, is driven from Amoy—His death in 1682 leaves Formosa without an able ruler—The Chinese reconquer the island in 1683.

THE peace which China had enjoyed for nearly three hundred years under the Ming dynasty was rudely disturbed, first by the Japanese pirates, then by the Hideyoshi's invasion of Corea, and twenty years later by the Manchu uprising which ended in the overthrow of the Mings and the coming into power of the present dynasty. The whole empire was thrown into disorder. Hundreds and thousands of people attempted to escape the troubles by crossing the sea, some to Formosa, others to Japan.

Now there was a tailor, named Cheng Chi-lung, also known as Iquan, who was born in a small seaside village in the province of Fokien. His business being ruined by the prevailing anarchy, he betook himself to Macau. There he entered the service of a Portuguese merchant, became a Roman Catholic and received the name of Nicholas. In the course of time he reached Japan, was summoned to Yedo by the Shogun and questioned with regard to foreign affairs. While in business at Nagasaki, he became attached to a young lady of seventeen, who lived at Hirado and was a member of the Tagawa family. This lady he married, and in 1624, she bore him a son whom the parents named Fukumatsu, but who is better known as Koxinga. The

father was really a pirate, who traded or raided as opportunity offered. With Formosa as his headquarters, he helped those who helped him, but was a bitter enemy to all who opposed him. Nearly all the pirates working on the Chinese coast, and even those further south owned his sway. He commanded over 3,000 sail and amassed enormous wealth. Hoping to use him to suppress the lesser pirates, the Chinese Government gave him a position of high rank in the Province of Fokien, thus affording him the opportunity of associating with many well-born nobles and other high dignitaries.

In 1639, when the pirate Liu Hiang-lao disturbed the peace of the Province, Cheng Chi-lung attacked and defeated him. His services and loyalty to the Government, and the valuable presents which he made to the Court, greatly increased his power, and gained him many influential friends. In 1644, when the Ming Emperor died, the Brigadier-General Ching Hung-tah attempted to re-establish the Tang dynasty. Followed by the Tang claimant, he entered Fokien, and with Cheng Chi-lung's assistance, succeeded in proclaiming him Emperor. In reward for his aid, the new Emperor created Cheng Chi-lung a Prince, giving Koxinga his son the honourable family name of Shu and the title of Count, afterwards promoting him to be a Marquis.

Finding shortly afterwards that the new Emperor was not worthy of his support, Cheng Chi-lung commenced a secret correspondence with the opposing party of Shin in order to maintain his power by their help. On discovering this treachery, the Tang Emperor fled to a district in the south-west of Fokien province, and there starved himself to death. But, though the Emperor was thus disposed of, Cheng Chi-lung's plans failed and he himself was arrested in Peking. Koxinga succeeded his father, and took command of the navy. Making the island of Gulandao near Amoy his headquarters, he proclaimed that he would restore the Ming dynasty to power, and gathered together the remaining adherents of that dynasty. He was soon master of parts of Fokien, Shansi and Kwangtung, and sent messengers to Japan asking for help. Though the Tokugawa Shogun rejected these proposals, the Ming leaders were greatly encouraged, and when, soon after, he seized the islands of Chusan, they sent messengers from Yunnan, appointing him Commander-

in-Chief, and promising he should also be District King of Yemping.

From this time Koxinga's power gradually became so strong that he was called "The Father of the Country," and all thought he was the man to restore the Ming dynasty to the throne. In 1659, he collected 3,000 ships, invested Chinkiang and captured it, immediately afterwards threatening Genlin. At the same time he issued a manifesto which brought him large numbers of fresh adherents.

By a clever stratagem, however, he was defeated by the Governor of Kiangsi and Chehkiang; and, having lost 500 ships, retired to Amoy. The Tartar General, flushed with victory, pursued him with 800 sail; but Koxinga's 400 remaining ships fought so valiantly that the Tartars were soon forced to flee. Despairing of conquering Koxinga by ordinary means, the Tartar Emperor now determined to cut off his supplies. All the people living within four leagues of the sea, from Canton to Nanking, were commanded to retire inland; the dwellings and crops were completely destroyed, and the whole sea-board turned into a desert. This forced Koxinga to seek for fresh headquarters. With this object in view, he made secret inquiries about the condition of Formosa, in answer to which the Chinese in the island sent messengers, inviting him to come over and free them from the Dutch. At this time, there was in the Dutch Court at Formosa an interpreter named Ho Bien, who had formerly worked with the Japanese pirates, but had been dismissed by them on account of his crimes. This man now assured Koxinga that Formosa could easily be conquered. The island authorities were well aware of Koxinga's wild ambitions, and frequently wrote to Batavia for reinforcements; but the Dutch Government there, not realizing the danger and considering the Formosan garrison quite strong enough, not only failed to send any assistance, but actually instructed the fleet which had been guarding Formosa to attack Macau and then return direct to Batavia.

Having learnt this through his spies, Koxinga collected several hundred ships and 25,000 soldiers, and set sail from Amoy, 31st August, 1661. He called first at the Pescadores and then landed to the north of Tainan, when countless Chinese received him with open arms and flocked to his banner. Some

of the troops carried bows and arrows, others had swords whose handles were three feet long, while others could outstrip the fleetest horse. Holding their shields aloft, they charged the enemy's positions, and fought utterly regardless whether they lived or died. All these wore metal armour. There were also a few riflemen and artillery. This army was not considered at all equal to the Dutch forces either in training and discipline or in equipment ; but when Koxinga arrived, the inhabitants of the whole island rose up against the Dutch, the savages uniting with the Chinese, and all exulting at the prospect of freedom. All the Dutch outside the castles had their property destroyed, and they themselves were subjected to the greatest indignities, the women being dishonoured and many of the men crucified. Being thus assailed by the entire native population of the island, the Dutch saw that they could not retain their position, and abandoned Fort Providentia without fighting. Koxinga then proceeded to besiege Fort Zeelandia, the last stronghold of the Dutch, but here they made a stubborn resistance. Only after nine months did they capitulate, and even then only upon Koxinga's agreeing to the following conditions, *vis.* :—

1. The Dutch shall be allowed to take all necessary provisions, as also gunpowder, bullets and fuses.

2. All private movable property may be taken to the ships after inspection.

3. The Dutch shall be allowed to take away a certain sum of money.

4. The Dutch soldiers may retire with loaded rifles, flying banners, burning lint, and may embark to the accompaniment of beating drums.

5. All prisoners to be returned within eight or ten days, and those in China as soon as possible.

6. Koxinga will return the four ships' boats which he captured.

7. Fort Zeelandia and its outworks, artillery, war materials, merchandise, treasure and other State property to be given up to Koxinga.

8. All papers and books belonging to the Government may be taken to Batavia.

The Dutch Governor Coyett with the remnant of his soldiers, now reduced to 1,000 men, together with all the Dutch officials

and merchants who still remained alive left for Batavia in September, 1662. Thus the Dutch occupation of Formosa came to an end after having lasted for thirty-eight years, and the fruits of their wise policy and praiseworthy efforts rapidly disappeared.

When Koxinga found himself in full possession of the island, he established his court at Zeelandia, and at once appointed numerous civil and military officials. Volunteer corps were formed in different parts of the island. Agriculture was encouraged, no plot of ground being allowed to lie waste without good and sufficient reason. Official discipline and social order were also strictly enforced. His eldest son, Cheng Ching, was placed in command of the military and naval forces at Amoy, while an able officer was stationed at the Pescadores and instructed to co-operate with the Amoy forces.

Koxinga had become acquainted with a Dominican friar from Spain, who lived in Amoy and bore the name of Vittorio Riccio. This friar he now sent to Manila with despatches threatening an attack unless the colony paid him a yearly tribute. The Spanish authorities, suspecting something of the kind, as soon as they heard that an envoy had arrived from the King of Formosa, prepared 8,000 footmen and 100 cavalry, and then received the ambassador with due ceremony. At this time the Chinese residents in Manila were extremely numerous, and even before the envoy's arrival, were greatly excited over the news that had reached them of how Koxinga had succeeded in expelling all the Dutch from Formosa. Their excitement was much intensified when the friar arrived as the King's envoy, and they also heard, by private letters from their friends and acquaintances in Formosa, the real object of his visit. When challenged by the Spanish officials, they were all found to be insurgents and were at once put to the sword, a few only being spared to act as tradesmen and mechanics. Being quite unprepared for such a result, Riccio returned to Formosa. When the Formosan Chinese heard how their friends had been killed, they became furious, and it seemed as though they would not be satisfied until, under Koxinga's leadership, they had killed every Spaniard in Manila.

At this juncture, however, Koxinga fell ill and, though only thirty-nine, was unable to throw off the disease which had

attacked him. He breathed his last in July, 1663. Although brought up among pirates and freebooters, he was by no means a common pirate. Inheriting tact and talent from his father, and a sound judgment and daring from his mother, he was full of great ambitions roused by the tendencies of the age, and proved himself to be a hero, gifted with great governing and organising powers. If he had been born in Nanking among high courtiers, he would assuredly have taken a prominent part in the civil war then raging in China, in connection with the coming in of the Tartar dynasty. As it was, his deeds in Formosa proved him a statesman of no ordinary mould. He was indeed the leading spirit of the Government, and he alone gave life and vigour to the whole institution.

As he died before the people had come to understand the spirit of his ordinances, chaos succeeded. He had left directions that his eldest son, Cheng Ching, should succeed him, but as this son had once displeased his father greatly, the generals in Formosa said Koxinga had passed him over, and they made Koxinga's brother Shu king instead. This the Amoy army would not consent to, but maintained that the son was the rightful heir and went over to the island, where they found that nearly all the Chinese residents held the same opinion. Having dethroned the usurper without striking a single blow, Cheng Ching returned to Amoy and again took up his military duties.

But the Dutch, wishing to retrieve their defeat and regain Formosa, fitted out an expedition consisting of sixteen warships, 1,386 sailors and 1,234 soldiers, which they despatched from Batavia, after having made a compact with the Governor of Fokien that his forces should unite with theirs, drive Cheng Ching out of Amoy, and then conquer the whole of Formosa. Several fierce battles were fought, and finally Cheng Ching retired to Formosa, where he devoted all his energies to commerce, agriculture and education. He fostered so many new industries that the inhabitants were enabled to live in comfort and become independent of supplies from abroad. But all the time he could not forget his father's plans. In 1679, he again entered Amoy with 20,000 soldiers and proceeded to attack the Fokien strongholds. These held out month after month while his enemies' hosts gathered, until at last he was obliged to fight on three sides at once, and was again forced to retire to Formosa. Realizing

then, that his plans for continental conquest were impossible of attainment, he turned his attention solely to home government and became greatly loved by his people. He died of some disease in 1682, in his thirty-second year.

His bastard son Cheng Ko-tsang should have succeeded him, but Cheng's mother hated him and, refusing to acknowledge him as her grandson, had him secretly strangled in the palace. She loved Cheng Ko-shwang, the second son, and set him on the throne. The Tartar governor of Fokien succeeded in sowing discord among the king's courtiers, bribing some and threatening others. In 1683 the Tartar admiral occupied the Pescadores, where through his spies he received secret reports as to the conditions in Formosa. The king's army fought valiantly, but was at last forced to surrender. Thus after being governed by Koxinga and his descendants for twenty-one years, the whole island came under Chinese control.

CHAPTER III. (*Continued*).

FORMOSA IN THE PAST.

SECTION IV.—STRUGGLES BETWEEN CHINESE AND SAVAGES.

Chinese methods in Formosa—Savages and immigrants—Twenty-two rebellions—Brief history of Choo Yihkwei—His rebellion—Count de Benyowsky—Clan fights—Civil war.

IN 1683, as soon as the Chinese had conquered Formosa, they made it a part of Fokien Province and called it "Taiwan," the name once given by the Dutch to one small island, the present Anping. The capital was called Taiwan Fu, as the seat of the central Government, and the whole island was divided into three prefectures, Taiwan, Shora and Hozan. The Chinese Government never allowed any of the officials to remain long in the island, or to take over their families, fearing that a lengthy stay might make them too independent. Indeed, the Government had no wish to civilise the island, they simply wished to retain it as it was. This spirit showed itself in all they did, and thus the Government was even more careless and irresponsible than on the mainland.

We find nothing noteworthy in their administration for two hundred years, until we come to Liu Ming-chuan, who at one time seemed likely to accomplish something. Whatever social or industrial improvements were effected before his time, were entirely due to the private efforts of the Chinese emigrants from the interior of China. This emigration movement was too strong to be checked by the Government edicts, which forbade any one to emigrate without express permission. Furnished as they were with better weapons, these new-comers plundered the native tribes, stealing their lands, wasting their farms, and cheating them out of their crops. They even went

so far as to set fire to their houses and shoot them on sight, until at last the latter were forced to fly for refuge further and further into the mountains, and were terrified at the sight of a foreigner. The poor savages began to regard all strangers as their natural enemies, and their inborn ferocity was greatly increased by the cruel wrongs they had suffered; consequently race fights between them and the Chinese settlers became so frequent, that for more than two hundred years hardly a day passed without one.

The Chinese authorities, unable to maintain order even among their own people, took no steps to deal justly with the savages, but left them to settle their difficulties on the barbarous principle of the survival of the strongest. The strong oppressed the weak, and the weak, in wild attempts to escape the sad and cruel fate which they saw awaited them, resorted to plots and violence, and thus the whole island was convulsed with periodic insurrections. The following is a list of the twenty-two most important insurrections, which have occurred in the island since the Chinese conquest 220 years ago:—

1683. The Chinese Conquest.

1696. Insurrection at Shinko in Tainan, headed by Go Chu (Go Kyu).

1701. Insurrection at Shora (Kagi), led by Liu Chow (Ryu Kyaku).

1721. Insurrection at Taiwan (Tainan) under Choo Yihkwei. Joined by rebels from Kagi, he threw the whole island into a tumult, made himself Emperor, and reigned for three years.

1731. Insurrection at Hozan under Woo Fuh-sing (Go Fukusei).

1738. Insurrection led by Hu Gwazen, Kyo Kokuchin and Yang Wenlin.

1770. Insurrection at Hozan under Hong Chau (Okyo).

1786. The whole island became a scene of wild revolt through insurrections at Kagi and Shoka, led by Lin Shoan-wen and others, and by Choan Tah-tien at Tainan and Hozan.

1795. Insurrection under Chien Chu-choan (Chin Shuzen).

1800. Insurrection under Wong Kong.

1802. Tsah Ken, a pirate, attacked Amoy, and, entering by the Tatam Gate, he carried away the large guns. He was a native of Tung-an. In 1805, he landed in Formosa, where

after plundering Tamsui, and killing many people at Rokko, he plundered and set fire to Tainan and Hozan.

1807. Tsu Pun, a pirate, invaded Giran.

1810. Insurrection under Hupeh.

1811. Insurrection at Taihoku under Ko Kwat.

1822. Insurrection under Lin Yong-chun.

1832. Insurrection under Chang Bien of Kagi.

1853. Insurrection at Giran, led by Otaii and Lin Wan-yung.

1853. Insurrection at Hozan, led by Lin Kung.

1854. Insurrection at Kagi under Lai Tsiah.

1855. Insurrection led by Lin Fang and Wang Biang.

1861. Insurrection at Shoka, led by Taiwan Sang, who set fire to the houses and plundered the people for more than three years.

1872. Insurrection led by Liao Yofu.

1888. Insurrection at Shoka, led by Su Gyudwan.

Of the above, that under Choo Yihkwei was one of the worst, as it spread through almost the whole island. He called himself Emperor, and changed the name of the epoch to Yong-ho. A glance at his career will show how easy it was to stir up the people, and how indolent and careless the officials were. Choo Yihkwei was a colonist of the worst type, who was employed for a short time as a servant at a police station. Losing this position, he sought to make a living by feeding ducks. According to their custom, these feathered creatures marched out daily in regular rows, like files of soldiers, returning in the evening in the same manner. This, it is said, suggested to him his first idea of military tactics. Collecting a number of outlaws and other desperadoes, he told them that his family name, Choo, showed that he was descended from the Imperial family of the great Ming dynasty. Hearing this, the people recollected the romantic stories they had heard of a prince and princess, who in ancient times had fled to Taoyuen, where they had gathered together a band of followers, who had helped them to regain their throne. Inspired by these tales, the people organised a new league, and brought in hundreds of recruits. The authorities sent a few soldiers against them, but these were quickly routed. The Government then put a price on Choo's head. A few days later, a head, said to be

his, was brought and laid before the commander, but the real Choo still lived and still repulsed the troops sent against him. He invaded the city of Taiwan Fu and emptied the treasury, carrying off all the public documents, a quantity of gunpowder and many firearms. In a short time the insurrection spread from Tainan to Tamsui, the Government authorities only avoiding capture by fleeing to Amoy. Choo then assumed the title of "Emperor of Formosa," and treated his subjects, as he formerly had his ducks, with due consideration. Plunder was forbidden, and property, as well as lives, protected. So powerful did he become, that the Fokien generals found they required over 20,000 men in order to subdue him. This shows how utterly inefficient the Chinese Government was at this time.

We have already observed how the Chinese, by their cruelty and wickedness, made the savages their undying enemies, but the following story will show how deep seated this enmity was. Count de Benyowsky, a young Hungarian nobleman, having gone to Poland, and taken part in the War of Independence, was taken prisoner by the Russians, and banished to Kamtschatka in 1770. His ambitious nature chafed against the confinement, so with ninety-six other exiles he seized a vessel and set sail to return to Europe. On the way, he dropped anchor at some port in Formosa. Having killed 1,056 of the natives who opposed his landing, he advanced into the interior of the island, where he met a Spaniard, named Don Hieronimo, who introduced him to Huapo, an independent Formosan chief. The chief received him with much respect, and agreed to give him large estates in the island and to allow him to establish a colony. On his side, Benyowsky undertook to procure for him armed vessels and help him to expel the Chinese. The chief's idea was to use Benyowsky to drive out the Chinese, and thus revenge himself for all the cruel wrongs he had suffered at their hands. Count Benyowsky's plan for colonizing the island, attracted attention all over Europe for a time, but was not well received in influential circles, with the result that, when a few years later he was killed in Madagascar, while fighting against the French, his schemes were soon forgotten.

The most noteworthy feature in the history of the island during the 200 years of the Chinese occupation, was the never-

ending stream of Chinese emigrants which poured in from the mainland. The great majority of these hailed from Fokien and Kwangtung. For hundreds of years they had never known what good government was, but had suffered intolerable oppression from their so-called rulers, while at the same time bands of brigands and robbers had gone about filling the country with violence and crime. This caused each man to take the law into his own hands, and so it came about that all who bore the same family name banded together, and fought in defence of their honour and property against those bearing a different name. If, however, their force was insufficient, they would secure the assistance of a third party. In this way, each family became a sort of independent community, the head of the family ruling like a king over all the other members. These family feuds were continued until one party or the other was altogether wiped out of existence. This custom still prevails in Fokien and Kwangtung, being due to the weakness and incapacity of the administration. The Chinese emigrants to Formosa brought this custom with them when they first came over, and, finding the officials too careless and indolent to be relied on, had more and more recourse to the family feud for the settlement of their disputes. Thus these bloody fights became even more frequent and violent than on the mainland.

In 1782, representatives of the Tsweng clan and the Chang clan met together, in the neighbourhood of Shoka, for a gambling contest. A dispute arose, which became so bitter that the Chinese officials were roused from their apathy and interfered. They took the part of the Tsweng clan, compelling the opposite party to issue a manifesto summoning all their relatives to rise and overthrow the Government. The island was divided into two districts, the north and the south; Lin Shoan-wen and Choan Tah-tien being the respective chiefs. This caused a general uprising, which spread from Tainan in the south through Shinchiku, finally reaching Tamsui. One can readily imagine how fearful the contest must have been, and what terrible suffering it must have entailed, seeing that it was not only a struggle between the Government and the people, but also a fight to the death between one clan and another. This insurrection was, it is true, quelled by the Government troops from Fokien, but, in reality, the people only stopped fighting

with each other, because they were all utterly worn out. It is said that the number of those who were either killed outright in this war, or died from the pestilence which followed, reached 100,000. In 1859, a struggle again broke out between these two clans, but this time the authorities left them to fight it out till they were exhausted. Two years later, after the fall of Taiwan Sang, who called himself Emperor, civil war broke out again, and over 3,000 people were killed on each side.

The way in which the Chinese officials acted, in connection with these outbreaks, was often very amusing. When Taiwan Sang was defeated and fled, he had one general, Gon Hochun, whose wife had long been famous for her great beauty. She had attracted the notice of one of the Government generals by gazing at him for a long time as he passed the house; but when he afterwards sent a message to summon her, she became quite indignant and called him a "traitor". Ten years later, while fighting against the same general, all her followers were killed, and she herself received some burns. On this the general sent her to a doctor, saying, "Thus I repay this woman for the kindness she showed me ten years ago". This story occasioned many a smile, even in that day, and we see from this that the Chinese military men made love, even while they were on active service.

CHAPTER III. (*Continued*).

FORMOSA IN THE PAST.

SECTION V.—FORMOSA AND THE POWERS.

Foreign designs on Formosa—Chinese inertia—The bad reputation of the inhabitants—Murder of foreign sailors—American retaliation and Chinese evasion—Disasters to Japanese vessels—Opposition to Japanese schemes—Japanese expedition—War with China narrowly averted—French attempt to occupy Formosa—Chinese attempts at law and order—Cession of the island to Japan.

THOUGH China left the government of Formosa in the hands of irresponsible mandarins, and made no attempt to strengthen her position there, the great European powers, fully alive to their interests in the East, began to recognise its commercial and strategic importance. In France, Napoleon the Third turned envious eyes on the island, England and America openly discussed what was best to be done, and even Germany, who had so recently joined the ranks of colonial powers, privately attempted to occupy it.¹

These powers, indeed, were so eager to gain possession of the island that its sudden occupation would have occasioned no surprise. But, although Formosa was in such imminent danger, the Chinese Government made but little effort to establish their supremacy. All they did was to endeavour to impress the people with the strength and dignity of the Peking Government, to invite the able young men of the island to become candidates for official positions, and to prohibit the Chinese from plundering and ill-treating the savages; but as they took no measures whatever to enforce these regulations, those Chinese, who came into close contact with the savages, became savages themselves, and acted in a high-handed manner.

¹ *Geschichte der Insel Formosa*, by Dr. Ludwig Reiss.

Since the Chinese Government behaved in such a supine way towards their own subjects, it is not to be wondered at that they made no attempt, during these two centuries, to extend their influence over the native tribes. Not only were no attempts made to civilise the savages, but, on the contrary, they were continually maltreated and oppressed, until at last they came to look upon all other members of the human race as their natural enemies, and to eye every one outside their own particular tribe with murderous intent. Hence it happened that when passing ships were disabled by typhoons, or lost their bearings, and ran on the rocks, all the survivors who escaped to the shore were at once captured, robbed of everything they had saved, and generally murdered by their captors. Thus Formosa became notorious all through the mercantile world, not only for the boisterous weather experienced on its shores, but also for the pitiless cruelty of its inhabitants.

In 1842, the British steamer *Ann* was wrecked on the coast to the south-west of Tamsui, and the whole of the fifty-seven persons, who managed to reach the land, were beheaded by the Chinese, who at the same time appropriated all their belongings. The British Minister in China entered a vigorous complaint, but only succeeded in obtaining an official apology from the Fokien authorities.

In 1850, another British vessel, the *Larpen*, was wrecked on the southern coast of the island. All who managed to reach the shore were at once seized by the savages, some being slaughtered on the spot, while others were dragged off into the jungle. A few managed to escape from their captors, but, on being found by the Chinese, were sold as slaves.

In 1869, the transport *Elbe*, of the Prussian expedition to East Asia, visited the south of Formosa, and a small party of marines was landed. Without any apparent provocation the savages immediately opened fire on them, and the party was obliged to return to the ship. The Prussian commander at once landed a stronger body and destroyed the village.

In 1867, when the American vessel *Rover* ran on a rock in the neighbourhood of Takow, the captain, his wife, and the crew, after reaching the shore with some difficulty, were at once brutally murdered by the Botansha tribe of savages, a Chinese sailor who had concealed himself alone escaping. The

American Minister at Peking lost no time in demanding compensation from the authorities; but they replied that the southern part of Formosa was beyond the pale, and the Americans might therefore take what revenge they chose. A detachment of American marines was landed near Takow, and, with the assistance of some Chinese soldiers, attacked and dispersed the savages. The United States consul at Amoy, General C. W. Le Gendre, who was with the party, then made a compact with Tokitok, the savage chief. This the latter faithfully observed, and from that day he and his immediate followers gave shelter and assistance to such unfortunates as were cast upon their shores. The other tribes did not acknowledge Tokitok's supremacy, and continued their murderous work as before. The Chinese authorities always tried to evade their responsibilities by pretending that the island was outside the pale of civilisation, but the time was now approaching when such indolence and cunning were to receive their well-deserved punishment.

It chanced that in December, 1871, a large fishing and trading vessel belonging to Miyakojima, one of the Loochoo islands, was wrecked on the southern coast, and fifty-four of the crew were murdered by savages of the Botan tribe. A few survivors were eventually able to return to their homes, and by them the news of the disaster was made known to the Japanese authorities. Negotiations were at once opened with the Peking Government, but they as usual repudiated all responsibility. In 1873, a similar atrocity was committed, but this time the Japanese Government, recognising that they could obtain no satisfaction from Peking, decided to chastise the savages themselves.

In 1874 a special bureau was opened. Okuma Shigenobu, of the Imperial Council, was appointed General Superintendent, and General Saigo Judo, Commander-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Forces. Two American naval officers, Messrs. Cassel and Wasson, accompanied him as his foreign assistants, and General Le Gendre, the American ex-consul at Amoy, as diplomatic adviser; a number of foreign ships were also chartered to transport soldiers, arms, food, etc. Mr. Bingham, the American Minister, sympathised with the purpose of the expedition, not only because the Botan savages had killed and maltreated many American sailors, but also because he himself

was very friendly to Japan ; but, when all the arrangements had been perfected, and the chartered transports were about to leave Shinagawa, he protested against the employment of any American ship for war purposes, unless the Government had first obtained China's written consent to the expedition. He further sent orders to the agent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Co., to delay the sailing of the *New York*, one of the chartered vessels. After much difficulty the Government secured other smaller ships, and the whole expedition sailed for Amoy. There Mr. Manson, the Japanese Government War Agent, resigned his post by order of his consul ; and a seaman, named Patterson, who had expressed a desire to act as pilot and interpreter to the expedition, was warned that if he joined the party he would get two years' imprisonment. Thus all the arrangements were upset. England and America had no ill feelings towards Japan, but they were afraid of hurting China's susceptibilities, while the foreign press was suspicious that Japan was going to use Formosa as an excuse for a war with China.

But Japan's honour was too deeply engaged to allow her to withdraw, so the expedition, 3,500 strong, set out as it was, and reached Liangkiau Bay in the south of Formosa. Here they landed, and after defeating the Botan savages, penetrated far into the interior. At this, the Chinese, who had expected the Japanese to take to their heels on their first encounter with the savages, were greatly surprised, and sent word to the Peking Court that the southern part of the island was in the hands of the Japanese. The Chinese Government bought war material, collected ships, levied soldiers, and in fact made every preparation for sending 10,000 Fokien troops to the island ; everything seemed to show that war between Japan and China was inevitable, and might break out at any moment.

But as from the very outset Japan had no intention of fighting with China, General Le Gendre was sent to Fokien to open negotiations with the Chinese officials, and arrange that China should indemnify Japan for the expenses she had incurred in connection with the expedition, and should also give guarantees that in future the savages in Formosa would commit no more outrages. On reaching Amoy, General Le Gendre was arrested by the American Consul on a charge of treason, and was sent to Shanghai. Though he was soon

released, this incident placed Japan diplomatically in a very disadvantageous position. She, therefore, appointed Okubo Toshimitsu, an eminent statesman, as her plenipotentiary and sent him to Peking to interview Prince Kung and others. China, however, made every effort to evade her responsibility; the Japanese envoy despaired of effecting a settlement, and was about to break off the negotiations and return home, when the British Minister, Mr. Wade, intervened, and peace was at last concluded between the two countries upon the following terms:—

1. Japan's chastisement of the savages in the southern parts of Formosa, undertaken as it was to protect her own subjects, is acknowledged by China to have been a just and proper proceeding, and cannot in any way be designated as a wrong action.

2. China shall pay 100,000 taels for the relief of the families of the shipwrecked Japanese subjects who were maltreated. Japan has constructed roads and built houses, etc., in that place. China, wishing to have the use of these for herself, agrees to pay 400,000 taels for them.

3. All the official correspondence hitherto exchanged between the two States shall be returned (mutually) and be annulled, to prevent any future misunderstanding. As to the savages, China engages to establish authority, and promises that navigators shall be protected from injury by them hereafter.

Thus war between the two countries was averted.

At this time, the English and French residents in Shanghai and Tientsin considered the Japanese expedition against Formosa to be the introduction to a war with China; they believed that Japan was merely using the island as a stepping-stone, and wished in that way to divert her subjects' attention from their home troubles. Knowing all this, the Chinese Government realized at last that Formosa was really in a very dangerous position, and that if they were to save the island they must exert themselves to the utmost. In 1875, the Governor of Fokien was ordered to spend some months of every year in the island, and the regulations, prohibiting the Chinese from penetrating the savage territories and forbidding them to emigrate to the island, were removed. The Governor of Fokien, Liu Ming-chuan, made Taihoku the capital and seat of Govern-

ment, and built the city wall. All that is worthy of the name of government in Formosa dates from this year.

When, in 1884, the French Government took up arms against China with regard to the Tonkin boundary question, the French tricolour floated for eight months over the Kelung forts, Admiral Courbet having, in accordance with his instructions, blockaded and occupied the port. The Pescadores were also occupied at the same time, and, if Admiral Courbet had not died of cholera, Formosa as well as Tonkin might have passed into French possession.

Startled first by the Japanese expedition against the Botansha tribe of savages, and then by the French attack under Admiral Courbet, China perceived how much of the world's attention Formosa was attracting, and she therefore proceeded to establish herself more firmly in the island. The garrisons were increased, the fortifications repaired and strengthened, arsenals and telegraph stations built, and railways constructed. To meet the cost of these improvements the authorities commenced to remeasure and reassess all landed property. But the people, not understanding that the island was the object of the world's ambition, saw no reason for the great increase in taxation, and complaints became general. At length, Liu Ming-chuan, unable to withstand their opposition, resigned his post and returned home in 1890.

His successor, Shao Yu-lien, tried to win popularity among the islanders by extensive economies. All appropriations were cut down, and the spirit of progress, which had begun to show itself, died away. Shao Yu-lien was succeeded in 1894 by Tang Ching-sung, and in the following year, by virtue of the Shimonoseki treaty, the island became a Japanese possession.

During the 280 years which have passed from the commencement of the Dutch occupation down to the present time, Formosa has seen four changes of sovereignty. She has had three pretended kings, and has experienced more than twenty insurrections which assumed sufficient importance to be recorded in history. Such continual unrest is very rare in modern times, and amply accounts for the restlessness and lack of patriotism of the people.

CHAPTER III. (*Continued*).

FORMOSA IN THE PAST.

SECTION VI.—RISE AND FALL OF THE SO-CALLED REPUBLIC.

Lu Yung Fu appointed Governor-General—Hasty preparations to repel the Japanese invasion—Enlistment of volunteers—China's offer of Formosa to England rejected—French overtures declined—Japan occupies the Pescadores—Chinese terror-stricken—The island in a state of anarchy—A Republic established—Japanese expedition to take possession—Kelung occupied—Official transfer of the island—Taihoku in the hands of the mob—Foreign residents appeal to the Japanese army—The Japanese advance southwards—Tainan surrounded—The Chinese sue for peace—Flight of Chinese Governor—Japanese and Chinese losses.

THE series of defeats which China had sustained in the Liao-tung Peninsula, made it evident to the whole world that she would soon have to sue for peace. The rumour was spread, by whom is not known, that Japan would, as one of the conditions of peace, demand the cession of Formosa and the Pescadores. China, therefore, sent stores of arms and money to Formosa, and, at the same time, placed the southern defences of the island in charge of Lu Yung Fu, the Black Flag Chief, who had distinguished himself as a brave general during the French war in Annam. From this time the minds of the inhabitants were greatly perturbed, and they did nothing day and night but talk of the coming Japanese invasion and prepare for it as best they could. Among the wealthy, the timid took refuge from the impending calamity by fleeing to the mainland, while the braver remained, but sent away all their treasures to Foochow, Hong Kong and other places, and the poor buried their meagre savings in the ground.

When the report came that Japan was actually fitting out her fleet to invade the island, the people were seized with a general panic. At this time, Tang Ching-sung, the Vice-

Governor of the island, visited Taihoku, and to rouse the spirits of the population and stir them to hostility against the Japanese, issued proclamations, in which he referred to the Japanese as "The horrible yellow Japanese dwarfs who would carry away the women, kill the children, and reduce all to slavery". He also put a price on Japanese heads; any one killing a general should receive 500 taels besides other rewards, any one killing an officer 500 taels, and any one killing a soldier 100 taels, while for the capture or destruction of a large man-of-war 70,000 taels was promised. Incited by cupidity, the rabble of the population enlisted by hundreds, and soon the barracks at Kelung and Taihoku were crowded to overflowing. Under the influence of wine, these undisciplined soldiers made themselves so objectionable, particularly to foreigners and the local gentry, that they were more dreaded even than the Japanese; the people as a whole were plunged into greater fear than before, and in their terror hundreds went and hid themselves. Those of the Americans and English who could not arrange to leave, hired Portuguese, whom they armed and kept as guards, not only for defence against the Chinese soldiers, but also from the other outlaws.

A rumour was widely circulated at this time, that the Chinese authorities, realizing that they were powerless to prevent Formosa and the Pescadores falling into the hands of Japan, had attempted to circumvent that Government by temporarily ceding them to England, but that, when the proposition was made to Lord Rosebery's Cabinet, the Prime Minister and Lord Kimberley, the Foreign Minister, with their usual sound judgment, absolutely refused even to consider it. In diplomatic circles this rumour was considered to be well-grounded and caused France no little anxiety. One day, two French men-of-war entered the port of Bako in the Pescadores. The senior French officer, having invited the Chinese commandant on board, treated him most hospitably and told him that, as China could not possibly hope to defend the islands against the enormous fleet which Japan was about to send to attack them, the best thing for her to do would be to at once cede them to France, just for the time. He also said that France suggested this out of kindness to China, and if the Pescadores were handed over, they would of course be returned to China as

soon as ever the present storm had passed over. The Chinese commandant submitted these honeyed proposals to the Formosan authorities, but Lu Yung Fu received them with scorn, and, remembering well the bitter hostility France had shown towards China during the war in Annam, he said such proposals had better be answered with artillery fire. This shows that Lu Yung Fu and others believed that Formosa was well able to defend herself. According to the Chinese official reports, there were at this time 140,000 soldiers in North and South Formosa; but these numbers were much exaggerated, the true figures ranging between 70,000 and 80,000.

On the 23rd of March the rumours became facts. Colonel Hishijima and his men landed at Riseikaku in the Pescadores. Early the following morning, they, with the help of the navy, attacked and captured the Konpehtai Fort, afterwards occupying the town of Bako, taking 500 of the garrison prisoners and capturing eighteen guns, 2,663 rifles, over a million rounds of ammunition, 797 kegs and 3,173 bags of powder, 1,000 bags of rice, etc., etc. The loss the Japanese sustained in battle was quite insignificant, but cholera broke out among the troops and carried off over 1,500 men in a few days.

As soon as the people in South China heard what had occurred in the Pescadores, they concluded that the Japanese troops would at once occupy Formosa, and, using that island as a base, would proceed to attack the southern provinces of China. The Formosan authorities employed two steamers, the *Martha* and the *Arthur*, to convey to the island arms, money and provisions, at the same time doing all in their power to encourage the rank and file and enable them to repulse whatever attacks the Japanese might make.

Now the belief had been prevalent for hundreds of years that the Pescadores were the key to Formosa, and if the Pescadores fell, Formosa must also fall. Accordingly, when Governor Tang Ching-sung heard that the Pescadores had already been occupied, he immediately jumped to the conclusion that Formosa could not be retained, and sent his family off at once to Canton together with numerous loads of luggage, which he pretended were their private effects. As the soldiers were carrying these through the streets, they were stopped by others, who examined the luggage under the impression that

the Governor himself was about to desert them and flee. This resulted in a fight between the baggage carriers and the interfering soldiers, in which forty persons were killed or wounded. Up to this time, Tang had been priding himself on having collected so many soldiers. Now he saw, that in arming such a large number of worthless and undisciplined men, he had really acted like the man in the Chinese apologue, who, for a ride, climbed upon the back of a tiger. During the last days of April, therefore, he called a meeting of the consuls, and informed them that, having lost all control over his soldiers and others, he was quite unable to protect either the lives or the property of the foreigners in the island. From this time, both Taihoku and Kelung were thrown into a state of complete anarchy by these lawless and unrestrained men, who, throwing off all restraint, plundered and robbed by day as well as by night.

When the report came that on 18th April, by the Shimonoseki Peace Treaty, Formosa had been ceded to Japan, the military men became quite indignant. Actuated some by patriotism, some by selfish motives, they all united in declaring that the island should never become a Japanese possession, and decided to organise a Republic, making Formosa an independent State under the suzerainty of China. Tang Ching-sung, the present Governor, should be President with many officials under him. There was also to be a Parliament, each member of which was to receive a salary of one dollar per day. That this plan was almost certainly originated either in Peking or Tientsin is clear from the fact, that, a few days before the new Republic was organised, Tcheng Ki-tong suddenly arrived in Formosa. He had been the military attaché at the Chinese Legation in Paris, but had been recalled for embezzling public funds and communicating State secrets to the press. Before his departure from China, he had had repeated interviews with high officials in Peking and Tientsin, and immediately on his arrival was appointed to the responsible position of Minister of Foreign Affairs, and became the heart and soul of the new Republic.

On the 23rd of May a manifesto in true Parisian style, announcing that the new Government had been organised, was issued and circulated over the whole island. Telegrams were also sent to the European and American powers as well as to

the Governors in every district in China. The new authorities believed that the Republic would, if it could hold out for six months or a year, secure due recognition from the powers. The greatest dependence was placed on France, and telegrams passed very frequently between Tcheng Ki-tong and certain Frenchmen. One day a small cruiser, the *Beautemps Beupr  *, put in an appearance, the officers landed and had an interview with the President. This led him to fully believe that the whole French fleet would shortly come to support him. Indeed it looked as though Tcheng Ki-tong had not been altogether deceiving the people.

The new Government adopted a national flag with a yellow tiger on a blue background somewhat like the Chinese dragon flag. A large silver State seal was also made and exhibited to the people. Paper money and postage stamps were also issued according to the regular way in such cases. Having raised forced contributions from the wealthier classes, the authorities gave banquets to the people to celebrate the felicitous occasion. Thus many forgot the impending danger, and gave themselves up to make the most of the present moments. But these wild dreams were rudely interrupted by the news that five Japanese warships had already reached Kelung.

When the Shimonoseki Treaty was concluded, the Imperial Guards, who were then in the Liaotung Peninsula near Kinchow, had not yet had any opportunity of distinguishing themselves. So the duty of capturing Formosa was naturally entrusted to them. Part of the Imperial Guards left Port Arthur on 22nd May, on board sixteen transports which on the 26th assembled at Chujo island, one of the Loochoos. The following day, the 27th, Governor-General Kabayama arrived from Tokyo. Feeling that in view of the conditions prevailing in Formosa not a day was to be lost, he ordered all the ships to sail at noon. At ten o'clock on the evening of the 29th, when about five miles south of Agincourt Island, the expedition met the *Yokohama Maru*, and learned that Tamsui was full of armed soldiers ready to oppose their landing. Thereupon the whole navy, led by the *Matsushima*, headed for a landing near Point Sanshokiaku. Sixty men landed first, being divided into four detachments, two to guard the landing-place, and two to search for any of the enemy who might be lurking near. Before sunset, the in-

fantry and sappers had all landed ; the next day the cavalry and artillery reached the shore, and the work was completed. Marching by mountain roads which were well-nigh impassable for carts and horses, the troops made their way towards Kelung, capturing Zuiho on the 1st of June. This town was held by 500 soldiers, led by General Ching, the commander of the Kelung division. These were routed by a single charge, and General Ching himself received a bullet as he was being carried to the rear in a sedan chair. As the Chinese soldiers who escaped spread the report from mouth to mouth that they had found the Japanese soldiers much stronger and braver than they had expected, Kelung and Taihoku were thrown into such a panic that discipline could not be maintained.

Early on the morning of the 3rd, our advance guards began attacking Kelung from the back, and, by nightfall, our army had succeeded in silencing all the forts and clearing the barracks. At this time our forces numbered 12,000 ; but, owing to the difficulties of transport over the mountain roads, none of our guns could be brought into use. On the other hand, the enemy consisted of twelve battalions each of 4,800 men, and they were incited to do their utmost by the promise of 30,000 taels if they succeeded in driving us off. By this and their own strong anti-foreign feelings, their martial spirits were raised to the utmost degree, and their artillery and infantry opposed us stubbornly. Yet in this battle we only had two men killed and twenty-six wounded !

While this fight was taking place on the land, the meeting for the final transfer of the island was taking place on the sea between the Japanese and Chinese plenipotentiaries who had been appointed for that purpose. The Chinese plenipotentiary, Li Ching-fang, had informed the Japanese plenipotentiary, Governor-General Kabayama, that, though he wished to land and hand over the fortifications and other property in proper style, the island was in such terrible commotion that, if he attempted such a thing and managed to reach the shore, the rebels would certainly leave off attacking the Japanese troops and come and kill him first. He therefore requested permission to perform the ceremony on the sea. After granting this request, Governor-General Kabayama asked for a list of the properties which were to be transferred. To this the Chinese

plenipotentiary replied, "I do not know the particulars. You know them far better than I do, so please make the list yourself." In accordance with this request, General Kabayama prepared a list. When Li saw it, he smiled and said, "I cannot say anything now about the cable to Amoy, as I do not know whether it belongs to China or to a private company. We must therefore settle that some other time. China has already given you the whole of Formosa. How can you suppose that she will have any objection to your taking the cable too?" The ceremony of transferring the sovereignty over Formosa was completed by half-past twelve o'clock on the 3rd of June, and thus the island, which China had torn from Koxinga's descendants by intrigue, bribery and brute force, passed again into the hands of the Japanese, in whose veins flows the same blood as filled those of Koxinga.

While this memorable occurrence was taking place on the sea, the interior of the city of Taihoku had been transformed into a perfect inferno. The President of the Republic, surrounded as he was by rude scamps and rogues, found himself unable to maintain the least discipline among his troops. The capital was given over to murder and rapine, and the most terrible crimes were unblushingly committed in broad daylight. Soldiers, clad in filthy uniforms, hawked about the streets stolen property consisting of solid copper or silver ware or precious stones worth thousands of dollars which they sold for three or four dollars. Krupp guns in perfect condition were sold for two or three dollars apiece. Ladies' jewelled necklaces could be bought for the same price. The thought of the deeds of cruelty by which this booty had been obtained made one shudder. Many of these brutes revelled in carnage just like wild beasts which have once tasted blood delight to feast on human flesh. Out of pure devilry, they set fire to the powder magazine and to the other places in the city where powder was stored, and took great delight in watching them blow up.

Feeling that their personal safety was endangered, the President and subordinate officials all took flight before the 11th so secretly that even Tcheng, the Foreign Minister, and the officials belonging to his department, did not know where the others had gone. The troops of the Republic, unable to



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find their head, concluded that he had fled. As soon as they found themselves without a leader, they turned robbers, and going in bands to the houses of wealthy merchants and foreigners, they plundered whom they would.

Under the impression that there were at least 20,000 soldiers defending the city, the Japanese troops at Kelung who knew nothing of these occurrences, only advanced with the utmost caution. Under these circumstances, the foreign residents of Taihoku selected Mr. Ohly, a German merchant, Mr. Thomson, an English merchant, and Mr. Davidson, the correspondent of the *New York Herald*, now consul at Antung, to go to Kelung to inform the Japanese troops of the situation and ask them to come quickly and restore order in the city. When these messengers had gone as far as Suihenkiaku, they met 500 Japanese soldiers and begged them to push on, leaving the transport column behind as the chief merchants of Taihoku would be only too glad to supply them with provisions. Accordingly the Kojima regiment hurried on with Staff Officer Akashi, and entered the city at daylight the following morning, 7th June. By dawn on the 8th, they had driven out the last remains of the enemy and captured the whole city. Tamsui was occupied on the 9th. The Chinese as well as the foreign residents welcomed the Japanese army with the sincerest joy, and white flags and Japanese flags waved from every house.

I believe the Republican army was only in existence from 23rd May to 11th June, less than three weeks, but in this short time they committed all imaginable crimes. Those who surrendered were disarmed and sent to Fokien.

Taihoku and the neighbourhood pacified, our army began on the 11th the advance south, defeating the insurgents on the way, and capturing Shinchiku on the 22nd. Turning back to Anpingchin on the 25th, we attacked and defeated Hwan Yang-shun and Ho Gya-yu, who were disturbing our lines of communication and interfering with our supplies. But henceforth our army could not achieve such brilliant success as at Kelung and Taihoku. It is true we always succeeded in the end, but we had many difficulties to overcome. There were four chief reasons for this, *vis.* :—

1. Our opponents were not regular soldiers, but men

thoroughly familiar with the country. When driven from one position, they ran off into the hills, to appear again at the head of the next wooded valley. Thus our troops wearied themselves out to no purpose.

2. We often found it quite impossible to tell who were soldiers and who not. Not infrequently, the country people who were working in their fields would turn out to be soldiers in disguise, and would at once attack any stragglers they saw.

3. The Chinese are adepts at this kind of guerilla warfare.

4. Our men were not well acquainted with the local geography. For instance, on 12th July, when Major-General Yamane advanced to attack the Chinese under Ho Gya-yu at Ryutanha, Major Bojo who went towards Daikokan, fell with three companies of foot soldiers and a small band of sappers into a strong ambush, from which they could by no means escape. At last four men decided to disguise themselves as Chinese and go for help. They reached Major-General Yamane's main body on the 16th. Relief was at once despatched, but when rescued the Bojo company were in a sad plight. They had practically no ammunition left. Their provisions were exhausted, and the only supplies they had been able to obtain consisted of a little rice. Whenever our troops were defeated, the inhabitants of the surrounding villages instantly became our enemies, every one, even the young women, arming themselves and joining the ranks with shouts of defiance. Our opponents were very stubborn and not at all afraid of death. They took cover in the houses of the villages, and when one house was destroyed by shell fire, they calmly moved on into the next, always seizing the very first opportunity of again advancing. This was true not only of Daikoku, but also of the whole Shinchiku neighbourhood, which is noted for the stubbornness and ferocity of its inhabitants. That is why it took our troops nearly two months to pacify them. Not only had our army to fight against fierce bodily enemies, but it also had to struggle against filthy water, malaria and dysentery. Our men were wearing in this hot climate the winter uniforms which they had worn at Port Arthur, were marching over twelve miles a day, and occasionally following up the enemy for twenty miles or so.

On 13th August, we attacked Bioritsu. After capturing it, our scouts were a long time before they again came into touch with the enemy. At last, on the 24th, they were discovered at Koroton. On the 25th, they were driven out of Tokaseki. The following day, before entering Shoka, we attacked and silenced the Hakkeizan fort. This was the greatest battle the Imperial guards had fought since landing in Formosa. The fort was built in a position very difficult to attack and was defended by 5,000 soldiers, many of them belonging to the Black Flag Regiment, renowned for its bravery and strength. But our army found the task less troublesome than the guerilla warfare they had met with in the villages. On the 28th, we captured Shoka, and on 2nd September, Tarimu and Unrin; and on 3rd October, having taken Kagi, we commenced to bring pressure to bear on Tainan.

Reinforcements consisting of the Second Division and part of the Fourth Division arrived at the Pescadores on 10th October with fifty warships. A part of this force, led by His Imperial Highness Prince Fushimi, landed at Hoteishi, twenty-eight miles north of Tainan; and part, led by Lieutenant-General Nogi, landed at Borio, twenty-five miles south of Takow. The Imperial Guards, being already in the island, were to approach Tainan by the direct road, the whole army being placed under the command of Lieutenant-General Viscount Takashima, the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Formosa.

Thus Tainan was about to be attacked from three different directions, and as the defeated soldiers brought the news of their repulses into the city, the hearts of the residents were much agitated, and many of them left everything and fled for their lives. Even the fighting men in the city began to understand how impossible it was for them to offer any successful resistance to our men. So on 10th October, General Lu sent a message by H.M.S. *Pique* to the Pescadores, proposing to capitulate on the following conditions:—

1. No Formosans to be punished for the resistance they had offered.
2. All Chinese soldiers to be hospitably treated and sent to Canton or Amoy.

On the way, H.M.S. *Pique* sighted Lieutenant-Governor

Takashima's ship; but, being unable to communicate with it, went on to the Pescadores. On receipt of the message, the Japanese Admiral replied that the fleet would be off Anping on the 12th, and would then discuss the matter with General Lu himself or with his accredited commissioner.

On the 12th, according to promise, the flagship *Yoshino* arrived off Anping, but Lu was distrustful and would not go on board. Instead of doing so, he sent another proposal of surrender to the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Guards through a certain English gentleman. On the 13th, the *Yoshino*, *Naniwa*, *Akitsuishima*, *Hiei*, *Yaeyama*, *Saien*, etc., attacked the Takow forts and silenced them. Then a detachment landed and occupied the town, and Lieutenant-Governor Takashima informed Lu that he must surrender unconditionally or take the consequences.

On this, General Lu, conceiving that he could do nothing else, took about a hundred officers and, under the pretence of going to inspect the Anping fort, left the city and, disguising himself as a coolie, went on board the ss. *Thales* to escape to Amoy. Hearing this, the *Yaeyama* started in pursuit, sighted the *Thales* fifty miles from Amoy, stopped her and examined the passengers. Our officers found seven Chinese labourers who appeared suspicious characters and wished to arrest them. The captain of the *Thales*, however, protested so strongly that they were released. Afterwards it was discovered that one of these seven was really Lu himself.

After General Lu's flight, the remains of his party wandered about the city not knowing what to do, till the foreigners, afraid that they would begin plundering, managed to persuade them to lay down their arms. This operation took the whole of one day, between 7,000 and 8,000 rifles being eventually placed in secure custody. Then two English missionaries, Messrs. Fergusson and Barclay, went to the Japanese headquarters a few miles south of the city, bearing a letter from the Chinese residents saying that the soldiers had all laid down their arms and disappeared, and asking the Japanese to come quickly and enforce order. General Nogi entered the city on 21st October and the rest of the army soon followed. Thus Formosa came into our possession in reality as well as in name.

Our losses in the whole campaign were as under, *viz.* :—

Died in Formosa of disease	4,642
Sent to Japan for treatment	21,748
Remaining in hospitals in Formosa	5,246
Killed in battle (officers and soldiers)	164
Wounded (not fatally, officers and soldiers)	515

Unhappily His Imperial Highness Prince Kitashirakawa succumbed to an attack of malarial fever. He was a great loss, not only to the army but also to the whole nation.

The Chinese losses are impossible to ascertain, but it is said that no less than 7,000 dead were actually found on the field.

CHAPTER III. (*Continued*).

FORMOSA IN THE PAST.

SECTION VII.—THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BRIGANDS.

Brigand risings—Critical situation—Fighting the only work done by the civil officials—Various outbursts with difficulty suppressed—Plans of campaign—People's attitude towards the brigands—Their resorts—Japanese change of policy—The brigands invited to surrender—Clemency and justice—Unrest in the centre and south—Strong measures—Brief summary.

AS soon as our victorious armies, advancing from the north and south, had succeeded in occupying the city of Tainan on 18th November, 1895, the Governor-General, Count Kabayama, reported to headquarters that the island was pacified. But while all were congratulating themselves, and feeling as though a heavy burden had been rolled from their shoulders, indeed, even before the ink was dry on the full reports of the expedition, the Hakkas, near Toko in the south, armed themselves with long poles, and rose in insurrection. The Hakkas and the Pepohoans inhabit a long belt of the plain in the extreme south, and live in a continual state of warfare with each other. The rising was all the more serious, since Lu, to enlist the help of these tribes, had armed all volunteers with modern weapons. From the latter part of November, they began a series of attacks on our officials, which continued until Major-General Yamaguchi shot five or six hundred of them, and forced the rest to submit.

This was but the beginning of troubles which lasted on and off for several years. These people are called brigands because, though they desired to overthrow the Government, the main object of their risings was robbery and plunder.

When the Hakka rising was nearly over, a brigand band, led by Lin Ta-peh and Lin Li-chung, besieged Giran on 30th December, 1895. Two days later, a band under Cheng Tseu-

giu of Taihoku, and Ho A-gen and others of Shinchiku, attacked a number of places in the Taihoku and Giran districts, throwing a large portion of the northern part of the island into a state of rebellion. The small number of troops in the district at the time, made it necessary for the police and civil officials to assist them in maintaining their position until relief came. This critical state of affairs continued until the Seventh Mixed Brigade and the reliefs of the Second Division arrived from Japan, when the insurgents were soon overcome, several thousands being killed and the remainder dispersed.

At this time, the whole administration was in the hands of military officers, hence the name "The Period of Military Administration". Civil administration was introduced in April, 1896, but the change was only nominal, as the officials were obliged to devote all their energies to putting down the frequent disturbances in different parts, leaving little or no time for the execution of their proper duties.

The most serious of the risings which occurred are alone worth recounting. When the Republic had been overthrown, Liu Tek-chok, the Chinese commander at Taito, disappeared; but news was afterwards brought that he had gathered a number of the natives together, been made their leader, and withdrawn into the backwoods. On 18th May, Mr. Sagara, the District Governor of Koshun, set out by way of Hsinan with Fan Wen-hui, a civilised savage, and others to attack Taito. Overcoming all opposition as they advanced, they reached Karenko in the latter part of June. Tek-chok was defeated and hid himself in the Toroku mountains; and being eventually captured in January, 1899, he was deported to China.

On the 30th of June, 1896, Kien-i, the brigand chief of Taiheiko in Toroku, attacked the town with a strong force, and Mr. Sato, the commander of the Japanese garrison, deserted his post and fled. The towns and villages of Rinkihō, Nanto, Hokuto, Tarimu, Rokko, Inrin, Rattoko and Daihorin all were occupied by the brigands. They also threatened Shoka, while at Taichu the authorities felt so insecure that they proclaimed a state of siege. On 11th July, the brigands captured Horisha, all the centre of the island thus falling into their hands. At last Lieutenant-Colonel Takahashi, who was

then at Taichu in command of the Second Brigade, went out and attacked the brigand forces at Nanto, Toroku and Shoka, but it took him ten days to restore order. Mr. K. Furusho, the Chief of the Home Government in the Civil Administration Bureau, sent a message to the brigand chief, Kien-i, offering him generous terms if he would surrender. He accepted, and was employed by the District Provincial Government until his death in 1898.

On 30th October, 1896, a band of 360 brigands at Taihoku, led by Lin Ta-peh and other chiefs, laid down their arms.

On 19th November, Chung Ki-sung and other chiefs attacked the town of Hozan, but were repulsed by the garrison.

On 27th December, the Second Brigade attacked Taiheicho, where the brigand Kwa Tia, one of Kien-i's colleagues, had fortified himself.

On 10th January, 1897, the brigands again attacked Hozan, but were driven off.

On 8th May, Cheng Tseu-giu and others, over 600 strong, attacked Taihoku, and began to plunder the Chinese quarter, but they were finally driven off by the garrison, leaving 205 of their number dead, including Chang Cheng, their leader.

As fast as one rising was quelled, another broke out to the great embarrassment of the authorities. One reason for this was, that at that time no definite plan having been adopted, each garrison and local police office followed its own special methods of restoring order. Their energies were therefore often misdirected, and the brigands had many opportunities of making their attacks.

So it continued until the latter part of 1897, when Lieutenant-General Nogi became Governor-General. Regulations were then drawn up clearly defining the different spheres of work for the troops and the police. The former were employed to put down insurrections in mountainous or hilly districts, while those that occurred in the cities, towns and plains were to be dealt with by the police. In the districts unprovided for, either soldiers or police might be employed according to the requirements of each case. This period was called "The Age of the Triple Guard," and the authorities were confident that they would by this means be able to subdue at once all the risings that might occur anywhere in the

whole island. These regulations, however, did little beyond impressing the peaceful classes of the people with something of the authority of the Government. As of old, the alarm bells still sounded in many places.

Now it is clear that the brigands of this period were not really hostile to the Government, as the Black Flag Chief, Lu Yung Fu, had been, neither were they mere robbers. They were rather a kind of political parasite, and bore a certain resemblance to the armed outlaws so often referred to in the Chinese history. They remembered how, in past times, Choo Yihkwei, who was just such a man as they were, had made himself king, issuing ordinances, and collecting taxes both in money and in kind. They were moreover no doubt influenced by the anti-Japanese spirit to be found in so many Chinese. The common people regarded them as a sort of embryo Government who by a sudden turn of fortune's wheel might receive the reins of power, and to whom, as well as to the regular Government, they were forced to pay dues. The people without doubt hated their violence and cruelty, but they could not help at the same time admiring their bravery in the face of the Japanese. Again, they were well aware, that the brigands were more intimately acquainted with all their private affairs than the Government authorities, and that, while the latter could be easily deceived, the brigands were sure and quite pitiless in their revenge. On this account, the brigands inspired more fear than the Government, with the result that every one refused to give the officials any information as to the whereabouts of the brigands, keeping silence as the members of a secret society would do under similar circumstances.

Giran was the northern headquarters of the brigands. Their leaders were Lin Ta-peh, Lin Li-chung and Lin Hwan. This band was the bravest and fiercest of all, setting an example to the Cheng Tseu-giu, Chang Cheng and other bands. In the middle part of the island, Unrin, now called Toroku, was the headquarters of a band under the leadership of a chief named Kien-i. This chief was the author of the attack on the Toroku garrison, and his conduct of the operations shows his ability as a leader, and his military skill. Such men as Kwa Tia, Hwan Mao-suan, Chang Li-chi and Lai Fu-

lai, who gave our soldiers so much trouble, acknowledged him as their leader.

In the south, Hozan was the headquarters. A native of Ako, named Chung Ki-sung, going round through Ako and Hozan, fired the hearts of the people and brought many followers to Lin Tien-fu, Lin Shao-miao, Cheng Yu-chung and Oo Wan-hien, but their power was very limited and they never were able to offer serious resistance.

In fighting against these brigands, the difficulty was not to overcome them, but to find them. They hid themselves among the people, and, though everybody in the place knew all about their movements, not a soul would give the officials any information. It was perfectly safe for their chiefs to walk past any of our police stations in broad daylight as nobody thought of informing against them. Sometimes our men would lodge at the village chief's house and would talk freely of all their plans for attacking the brigands, to find afterwards that their host himself was a brigand. At other times the brigands would be disguised as coolies and would come and carry our luggage and provisions.

Owing to the difficulty of distinguishing them, it often happened that common people were mistaken for brigands by our troops; sometimes a peaceful village was attacked by surprise in the belief that it harboured bandits, and some of the peaceful villagers were killed. This exasperated the survivors so much that they all turned brigands. It became evident that to suppress brigandage, it was necessary first to ascertain exactly the strength and headquarters of the different bands, and, as far as possible, the names and addresses of those who composed them, so that they might be distinguished from ordinary people.

In April, 1898, when General Nogi left and Viscount Kodama succeeded him as Governor, and Baron Goto succeeded Mr. Sone as Chief of the Civil Administration Bureau, the despotic system which had been in force was done away with, a democratic system being adopted instead. The Triple Guards were also discontinued and the old Chinese village guard system was restored, under which the people themselves were the rural police and were made responsible for the preservation of peace and order. The brigands were also invited to come

in and surrender. Many of them came one after the other out of their strongholds, and expressed their desire to change their mode of life.

On 28th July, Baron Goto went himself to Giran and there received the submission of over 700 brigands, including Lin Ho-wan, Lin Shao-hwa and Lin Shao-tsuen. On 10th August, Mr. Murakami, the Governor of Taihoku, received at Heirinbi the submission of Cheng Tseu-giu and others; and on the 23rd of the same month, over 900 others, including Lo Ah-yeh, all members of the Suihinkyaku band, went to the Government office and swore allegiance. On 8th September, the Shiran band, consisting of Gyan Dah-suh and 500 of his followers, took the oath.

On the other hand, the Taiping Branch Office was attacked on 21st September, and on the 25th of the same month the Sankakuyu Court House. In December of the following year our Third Brigade swept the brigands away, killing Gao Ki, Cheng Kai and Lo Shi-tiao. The same month the Choshuso Government Office was attacked by Lin Tien-fu, Lin Shao-miao and 3,000 of their followers, and Mr. Seto, the head of the office, was killed. But in general the Emperor's gracious offer greatly pacified the hearts of the brigands. In March, 1899, Kwa Tia, who had for a long time exercised a great influence near Taiheicho, came in and surrendered. On 8th April, Yuen Tsang and others in the Ensuikeo neighbourhood surrendered, and on 12th November Lin Shao-miao and others. The authorities treated them very generously, granting their requests wherever it was at all possible to do so. Care was also taken that they should have the means of making an honest living. At first sight, this does not seem well calculated to impress them with the authority of the Japanese Government. For this reason many who considered themselves well acquainted with Formosan ways objected. Public opinion in Japan was strongly opposed to the course we had adopted, and all the military men said it would not answer. But the Governor-General remained unmoved by these criticisms.

The brigands were quietened for a time by the generosity shown them. The authorities took their names and addresses, so that inquiries might be made as to their means of livelihood and also as to their true position. In this way they were

enabled to discriminate between the brigands and the other inhabitants and also learned their relative strength, and thus one of our objects in inviting them to surrender was attained. If now they gave further trouble, it was easy to punish them; but if they truly became peaceable citizens, our authorities would do what they could to assist them.

Most of the brigands, however, misinterpreted our action and attributed it to fear. They also thought that in inviting them to surrender, we had merely wished to purchase for our officials immunity from their attacks, and would still allow them to carry on their depredations as the Chinese Government had done in the past. They had so long been above the law that they could not believe the authorities were serious in their determination to put an end to brigandage once for all. Those who swore allegiance continued to rob and murder just as before, in total ignorance that the Government net already enclosed them.

In March, 1900, Lin Ho-wan broke his oath, and being arrested at Giran was tried and sentenced to death. Before that, Gyan Dah-suh had fled to Southern China, but he was arrested there and brought back to Taihoku, where he was executed. Since that time the remaining brigand fires of robbery and violence have been gradually extinguished, and the neighbourhood of Taihoku has come to enjoy peace.

Though the northern portions of the island were well on the way to pacification, in the centre and south things still remained unchanged. There were apparently two reasons for this:—

1. The Governor-General's Office had been so much absorbed with pacifying the northern districts, as to somewhat ignore the central and southern portions.

2. The proclamations which the authorities in Tainan and Taichu issued inviting the brigands to surrender were lacking in definiteness, hence the brigands in those districts failed to clearly understand the will of the authorities.

In May, 1900, Major-General Yamanaka, the head of the Second Division, worked for twenty-five days in overcoming the remnants of Kwa Tia's band. In February, 1901, the Toran brigands, led by Chang A-lui and others, attacked the city of Taichu in force; and on 23rd November those led by

Hwan Miao-sung and others attacked the Bokushikiaku Branch Office, in defending which Mr. Shozaki, the head, was killed.

About this time the authorities did away with the old arrangement by which the island was divided into three prefectures, and, instead, divided it into twenty Cho under the direct control of the Governor-General, thus greatly facilitating the work of administration. At the same time the plan of inviting the brigands to surrender was abandoned, and it was decided to put them down by force.

On 1st December, general searches were made all round Kagi, Ensuike, Tainan, Hozan, Ako and Banshorio. These were all effected on the same day by the police with the assistance of the troops and gendarmes. Mr. Oshima, the Inspector-General of the Police Department, went to Tainan himself, going round through each Cho, adopting such measures as were most suitable to the occasion, and encouraging all his subordinates to do their utmost to put an end, once for all, to the brigand outrages. The village native guards, who, for fear of the brigands, had hitherto been half-hearted and therefore of but little use, now did their utmost to hunt them down. These measures were most successful. On 10th December, the troops in co-operation with the police destroyed the brigand fort on Horozan, and forty outlaws, including Hwan Mao-sung, were killed. Within a few weeks, three more chiefs were disposed of by the police and village guards. During these five months 3,000 brigands were killed. This was all the more satisfactory in that owing to the precaution taken of registering the names of the bandits, law-abiding people were not molested. Our uniform success increased the people's respect for the authorities and their confidence in the justice of our rule, good citizens were able to dwell in security, and all questionable characters understood what they had to expect if they did not amend their ways. No alarm bells were now to be heard.

Some brigands were still left in the Unrin and Hozan districts, and also a band at Ako led by Lin Shao-miao and others. The Unrin brigand chiefs Kwa Tia and Hwan Sai had died in 1900, and after that date the Unrin band was led by Leu Long and Cheng Ti and the four brothers of Lai Fu-lai and Chang Li-chi. But hearing that six Cho offices were about to make a united effort to put down brigandage, they were filled

with despair, and when the Toroku Cho authorities gave them an opportunity to submit, Chang Da-yu and others, over 360 in all, expressed their desire to surrender. On 25th May, 1902, a meeting was held for the purpose of accepting their allegiance; but, though they presented themselves, they all proved so unmanageable that they were all killed in the hall where the ceremony was to have been held.

Our soldiers then attacked their mountain resorts and by the end of August had cleared almost the whole. Lin Shao-miao had two strongholds, the one in midstream in the lower reaches of the Tamsui River in the south, the other at Koheikirin to the south of Hozan. Trusting to the fact that he had already acknowledged our authority, he collected other worthless fellows and continued to act as badly as ever. He had been overlooked by the authorities a few months before at the time of the great sweeping movement. But after order was restored he could not brook the restraint and became troublesome. On 30th May, Mr. Oshima, the Inspector-General, at the head of the Hozan and Ako Police, with the assistance of part of the Third Brigade, attacked his two strongholds, and killed him, together with Oo Wan-hien and Lin Tien-fu.

Thus were rooted out the brigands who had been the plague of Formosa ever since its first mention in history. From 1897 to 1901, 8,030 brigands had been arrested and 3,473 killed. While the brigands were in power each postman was usually guarded by five or six policemen, but even then they were not always safe. No Government official or rich man could travel any distance without police protection. Within three or four miles of the capital travellers had to defend their lives with swords and pistols. Early in the spring of 1898, the officials in the Civil Administration Bureau heard shots fired by brigands. From 1897 to 1901 there were 8,903 brigand outrages, in which 2,459 people were killed or wounded, while 4,653 were carried away and held for ransom. The property lost amounted to Yen 1,029,723. These are only the cases which were made public, but the total losses must have been more than double this amount. From this we can easily understand how it was that the natives feared them more than the fiercest tiger. But now there are no more cases of brigandage. Those brigands who submitted to our authorities are all registered and are

under the strictest police surveillance. If they act improperly in any way, they are summarily beheaded. They know this, and so do not move. In 1902, 50,000 muskets and 100,000 rounds of ammunition which were found in their possession were confiscated, so now they have no offensive weapons. The law-abiding natives can pursue their avocations confident in the ability of the police to protect them, and they now rejoice to obey our laws; peace prevails everywhere, and refinement and progress are evident over the whole island. Comparing this with the period of Chinese occupation, when twenty-two serious insurrections occurred, or with the military period a few years ago, when the brigands could do very much as they liked and ruled as masters, we see a marvellous improvement, and may well be astonished at the success which has been achieved.

CHAPTER IV.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES—PLANTS AND ANIMALS—CLIMATE —INHABITANTS.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES.—First view of Formosa—Geographical position—Distances between various ports—A commercial centre—Effect of discovery on Japanese and Dutch commerce—Time difference—Area—Harbours on the west—The eastern coast—Mountain ranges—Plains and rivers.

PLANTS AND ANIMALS.—Classification of plants—Trees—Useful plants—Some fruits—Flowers—Beasts, birds and fishes.

CLIMATE.—Effects and defects of the climate—Table showing the world's rainfall—Formosa's rainfall—Wind.

INHABITANTS.—The Chinese population—An interesting story—Class and custom—Savages—Japanese.

THE China Sea is often extremely rough, and as the voyager gazes out over the boundless waste of heaving waters, or lies groaning in his cabin in the agonies of sea-sickness, he may well feel that without the special blessing of heaven, he will never reach his desired haven. The huge roaring waves which look mountains high, make even the strongest ships groan and labour heavily, like a man might do who had to crawl along through the underbrush at the bottom of a marshy gorge. Indeed, in such a sea, modern ships, skilfully built and large as they are, seem little better than cockle-shells and are often swept away. To the old navigators who had only sailing ships this sea was always a place of terror, and many an old mariner must have shouted for joy, when at last he had the joy of seeing Formosa rise up on the horizon, and could turn his vessel's prow towards the shore. No wonder then that the first Europeans who discovered the island, the Portuguese, named it Formosa out of admiration for its beauty. This is not the first instance of the name being used by the Southern Europeans. There is a village in Portugal bearing the same

name, also one in the Argentine Republic and another on the eastern coast of Brazil. Cape Formosa is in Benin, and Mount Formosa in Malaysia. No doubt the Portuguese gave the name because the island reminded them in some way of some of their other colonies or of the town of the same name in their homeland, but the first voyagers might well exclaim "Ihla Formosa! Ihla Formosa!" ("Beautiful Isle! Beautiful Isle!"), when they first saw this beauteous island rise up out of the weary waste of waters.

Formosa has almost the same east longitude as the Chusan Archipelago and the mouth of the Yangtszekiang, and about the same latitude as Foochow and Amoy. In clear weather the island of Yonakumi, the most southerly of the Loochoos, is clearly visible. The Pescadores lie to the west between Formosa and the mainland, and are separated from the island by a strait not more than ninety-one miles wide at the narrowest part and nowhere more than 100 fathoms deep. A ship leaving Formosa on the evening tide finds itself the next morning in a port on the mainland of China.

If the Japanese navy had its headquarters at the Pescadores and was guarding the strait, the strongest navy in the world could not force a passage. That is why, when Japan occupied Formosa and the adjacent islands, she declared that the Formosan Channel would thereafter be considered as a part of the high seas and be therefore free to the ships of every nation. This declaration was made in order to remove any apprehension on the part of the powers.

The position of the island is equally good from a commercial standpoint. The following list shows the distance in miles between Formosan ports and the principal ones in Japan and other Asiatic countries:—

(Formosan and Japanese ports are printed in capitals.)

	From Kelung.	From Tamsui.	From Takow.
Amoy	217	192	186
Chefoo	926	908	1127
Dalny	991	973	1192
Foochow	144	115	175
Fusan	791	822	1041
Gensan	1089	1120	1339
Hong Kong	466	440	360
KOBE	919	950	1169
Manila	1116	1090	1010

(Formosan and Japanese ports are printed in capitals.)

	From Kelung.	From Tamsul.	From Takow.
MOJI	744	775	994
NAGASAKI	629	660	879
NAHA (Loochoos)	378	409	628
Niuchwang	1140	1172	1341
Port Arthur	989	971	1190
Saigon	1534	1508	1428
Shanghai	436	418	637
SHIMONOSEKI	791	822	1041
Singapore	1906	1880	1800
TAINAN	225	194	25
Tientsin	1161	1143	1362
UJINA	861	892	1111
Vladivostok	1280	1311	1530
YOKOHAMA	1245	1276	1495

From the time of the pirates down to the close of the Dutch occupation, Formosa was the most important trading centre and resort, not only for traders from both sides of the ocean, but also for those who lived along the Chinese coasts. If the island had not been discovered by the Portuguese at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the East and the West could hardly have been brought into such close commercial contact as they are to-day. Suppose, for instance, that we, Japanese, had not known of the island's existence, our ancient traders could never have found their way as they did to Amoy, South China, Luzon, Saigon and Java; nor could Hideyoshi's immediate attendants, Ishida and Konishi, have introduced the new progressive ideas, which being handed down, inspired the great scholars of the Tokugawa period. The knowledge of foreign countries and of the rich harvests to be reaped from foreign commerce would have been lacking. We, Japanese, would have been left in utter darkness, and the people along our coasts would have lived a life of seclusion, and we should not have come under the foreign influences which prepared the way for the Restoration. Again, if Formosa had remained unknown to the Dutch, the Dutch East India Company would have had no outlet for their energy, and could have done nothing but compete with the Portuguese, and strive to secure a port on the Chinese mainland. Moreover, owing to the great distance between Batavia and Nagasaki, our trade with Holland could hardly have developed as it did. As I sailed through the Formosa Channel I thought how this small island, Formosa, had been as it were the key to open the lands of

the East to the tendencies and thoughts which were stirring the nations of the West.

The most easterly point of Formosa is in $122^{\circ} 6' 15''$ east longitude. Taihoku, the capital, is situated in $25^{\circ} 4'$ north latitude and $121^{\circ} 28'$ east longitude. Agincourt Island is in $25^{\circ} 37' 53''$ north latitude, and, as this lies 18° west from Tokyo, the island time is fifty-four minutes behind Tokyo time.

The main island of Formosa has a coast-line extending nearly 708 miles; its area is 13,795 square miles. The total length of the coast lines of the fourteen adjacent islands is sixty-two miles, and their area thirty square miles. The area of the largest of the Pescadores is twenty-four square miles, while its coast line measures seventy-one miles. There are sixty-three smaller islands in the archipelago, which have a coast line extending 132 miles altogether, and an area of twenty-four square miles, almost exactly the same as that of the largest island in the group. Thus Formosa and the Pescadores with all their adjacent islands are altogether almost equal to Kiushiu in size.

Formosa, like Japan, has mountain ranges running lengthwise through the island from north to south, dividing it into two halves, the eastern and the western. In the western half the land is mostly level; the coast has many ports and abounds in bays and sandy shores. The port of Tamsui is at the mouth of the river of the same name and can accommodate in its harbour steamers of 1,200 tons. Camphor and tea are mostly exported from here. Eighty-three miles south from Tamsui, at the mouth of the Daito River, is another port called Tokatsu or Tokatsukutsu, which is the centre of the traffic by junk with the mainland. Ninety miles farther south brings us to Anping, and twenty-five miles farther on to Takow. Though these two ports fill an important place with regard to the trade for the southern districts of the island, they are too small to accommodate steamers of any size. On this account, vessels anchor outside and run to the Pescadores for refuge whenever a storm comes on. As the western shores are provided with harbours and sandy coasts, civilisation entered the island from that direction and spread towards the east, its advance marked by well-tilled fields and flourishing populous villages.

The eastern coast, on the contrary, is mostly high, bordered with precipitous cliffs, with but few level fields and hardly any harbours. The only ports in Taito are Pinan and Karenko; and in Giran, So-o. The latter is fifty miles east of Kelung, Karenko fifty-two miles farther south, and Pinan seventy-five miles farther. From Pinan to Daihanroku in Koshun, the southernmost point of the main island, it is sixty-one miles, and fifty-five miles from there to Takow on the west coast.

The soil of the whole island is generally fertile and gives good and abundant harvests; indeed the paucity of good harbours is really the island's main defect.

The great chain of mountains that forms the backbone of the island divides into several parallel ranges. The most conspicuous of these is the Mount Sylvia Range. This range commences from Point Domu, a few miles to the south of So-o. Not very far from the shore it rises into a steep peak several thousand feet high called Nankeizan. From here, it runs twenty or thirty miles in a westerly direction, verging towards the south, and forms Mount Sylvia, which towers to a height of 13,000 feet, and a few miles farther south, Setsuzan. Here it turns slightly to the west and then continues direct south, forming two lofty peaks of Shukoranzan and Pinanshuzan, each of which is 12,000 feet high. The range runs on through Koshun, terminating at last in South Cape. Another smaller range rises from the Kapsulan Plain, runs round the north-west of Mount Sylvia, and passing the Taiko and Toseikaku districts reaches Horisha, forming on the way the different peaks of Kwantozan, Gojozan and Daizan. Then running south it gathers itself up and raises the mighty mass of Niitakayama, which rears its proud summit 14,000 feet high, and from this lofty pinnacle looks down upon all the other mountains and plains of the island. There are also two or three other peaks which join this range, which is called the Niitaka Range, to the Sylvia Range. A third range starts from the northern end of the Kapsulan Ridge and runs to Hozan, first turning west to form Sanshoreizan and Soreizan. Passing through Toseikaku, it leaves Horisha on the east and stretches down to the east of Kagi. The peaks of this range are mostly below 5,000 feet high. It is called the Savage Boundary, as it marks the division between the savage territory and the cultivated plains.

As we have seen, mountain ranges form the principal feature of the island, peak after peak raising its head so that the land mostly consists of mountains and upland country. Plains are very scarce. The principal are those of Hozan, Tainan, Kagi and Shoka. These four are called the plains of the western coast. Then there is the Twatutia Valley, where Taihoku, the capital, is to be found. Then we have the Giran or Kapsulan Plain and the Taito Valley, called also the Karai Plain. There are also the uplands between the mountain ranges, the Shinchiku, Bioritsu and Taichu districts belonging to this category. If the area be classified according to elevation, the following will be the result, *vis.* :—

Elevation in Metres.				Area in Square Miles.	
Below	100 metres			About	5,050
Above	100 and below	500		"	2,910
"	500	"	1,000	"	2,960
"	1,000	"	1,500	"	1,360
"	1,500	"	2,000	"	665
"	2,000	"	2,500	"	370
"	2,500	"	3,000	"	180
"	3,000			"	100
				Total	13,795

As the island is so extremely mountainous, there are no quiet peaceful rivers to be seen in the whole of it. All the streams, whether large or small, partake more of the nature of mountain torrents, rushing madly towards the sea.

We have seen that the total area is about 13,795 square miles, or nearly 8,704,400 acres. Of this about 5,000 square miles consist of lowland suitable for cultivation, the remainder being mountain and forest land. These forests contain many different kinds of trees which, according to their leaves, may be roughly divided into two classes, needle trees and broad leaf trees. Those with needle-shaped leaves are represented by Abies, Araucaria, Chamaecyparis, Cryptomeria, Red Cedar, Spindle Tree, Spruces, etc. Among the broad leaf trees may be noticed the Banana, Black Ebony, Camphor Tree, Oak, Maple, Palm, Paper Mulberry, Persimmon, Pineapple, Soap Tree, Sterculia Fibre Plant, Tallow Tree, etc. Of these the Camphor tree and the Hinoki or Thuya obtusa are the most valuable timber trees. The Camphor tree attains an enormous height and girth in Formosa, and may be called the king of

the forest. Trees are frequently seen with a circumference of twenty or thirty feet, and some require at least a forty-foot line to reach round them. According to a recently published Forestry Report, the Hinoki forests on Mount Ari are estimated to cover nearly 8,500 acres. Some of the tallest trees are 130 feet high, and so thick that when cut down twelve persons can easily stand together upon the stump.

The amount of timber in these virgin forests is very large. Of the needle trees there are 762,000 large enough to furnish together over 14,000,000 posts each eighteen feet long and one foot square; and of the broad leafed ones 375,000, from which nearly 4,000,000 posts of the same size could be obtained. Trees large enough to furnish one such post are worth from £4 to £5 apiece, but even if, in order to be on the safe side, we reckon them at £2 apiece, these forests will be worth £36,000,000. For ninety years they can supply 200,000 posts each year. But ninety years means three generations, and if, therefore, those trees which are cut down be replaced by young saplings, new forests of similar value will be produced in that period. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that the Formosan forests are practically an inexhaustible mine of wealth. The *Cinnamomum Camphora* trees are of great value for making furniture. The wood may be compared to the mahogany which Europeans prize so highly for similar purposes. The *Quercus Silva* produces wood as hard and durable as teak. Bamboos grow all over the island in great variety. A small species found in the hills is used for making a very coarse wrapping paper.

One of the most important dye plants of Formosa is the Dye Yam, which grows wild in the mountainous savage territory throughout the island. This tuber is dark brown in colour with a rough surface, in shape not unlike a double bulbed potato. The dye is obtained by cutting the yam into small pieces, which are then added to a certain quantity of boiling water in which the articles to be dyed are placed. The island also grows the Pith Paper Plant from which artificial flowers are made, and a creeper which yields a narcotic medicine much used by Formosans for catching fish.

Among other economical plants may be mentioned the *Cyperus Rush*, which is used for mat making, and the *Machilus*

Thunbergii, from which incense sticks are made. The Palm, Banana and Pineapple are also met with throughout the island. The fibre which is obtained from the green leaves of the pineapple is employed in the manufacture of a cool summer cloth. These economical plants and fruits are of great value even in their wild state. With the adoption of scientific methods of cultivation and the introduction of new and improved species of fruit trees, the returns would be tremendous.

To enumerate a few comparatively uncommon fruits, the Parami (*Artocarpus Integrifolia*) is noted for its richness, the Rembu for its plain sweetness. The Buddha fruit contains a juice which tastes like milk, and there is a heart-shaped pear which has a singular taste. No one who has once eaten the Aigyo and Pinpon can ever forget their delicious flavour. The Aigyo (*Ficus Pumila*) is much valued by the Chinese for a jelly-like substance which is obtained by soaking the dried fruit in water. The Pinpon has a seed in the centre which smells intolerably bad. If washed well with salt water it emits, however, a pleasant odour and becomes most delectable.

The island is rich in sweet-scented and bright-hued flowers, especially orchids. Of these the most popular are the Koran, which is very fragrant, and the Kochoran, Butterfly Orchid, so called on account of its resemblance to a butterfly; this is much prized by the Formosan gentry for the beauty and durability of its flowers. The Jasmine is made much of by the Chinese, who put a sprig in their hair every morning. On the darkest night the approach of a Chinese woman may be detected a long way off by its heavy perfume. In shape and colour the flower is not unlike our Japanese magnolia, but very much smaller in size. There is another flower which is indispensable on the drawing-room table in a gentleman's house, the Tuberose. Entirely scentless in the daytime, in the night it emits a pure and strong perfume; hence its Japanese name which means fragrance under the moonlight. I once placed a few jasmines and tuberoses between the pages of a book, and when I opened it six months later the pleasant perfume still remained.

I had more than once been told that Formosa was the original home of the rose and had expected to find them there in profusion. To my disappointment, however, I could find

none except a few single white and red ones which spotted the hills and plains. I could not see any azaleas either, except a purple one which is found all over the plains in the northern half of the island. Magnolias, Rose Mallows, Hollyhocks and Cockscombs also abound and many varieties of Cactus.

Animals are not nearly so plentiful in the island as flowers and plants. There are two species of oxen, the bullock, a descendant of the Dutch breed, and the water buffalo. Both of them are suited for farm work, but unfit for milking purposes. Their flesh is also unpalatable. Of late years Japanese oxen have been imported, but many years must pass before they can completely replace the native bullocks. The water buffaloes soon tire unless they are frequently bathed with cold water, so their drivers are often compelled to help them by pouring water over their backs, which unfits them for carrying packs a long distance.

It is said that in old times wild horses were met with, but I never saw any. Very few of the farmers keep horses; one might almost say that there are no horses in the island. The main reason for this is no doubt that the water buffaloes take their place for farming purposes. The island is also inhabited by such wild animals as tigers, bears, wild boars, large monkeys allied to ourang-outangs, smaller monkeys, wild cats, musk cats, squirrels, hares and goat-antelopes. There used also to be large numbers of deer, but this animal is now rarely seen, the Chinese hunters having killed them indiscriminately for the last three hundred years.

Birds are not found in so great a variety as in the temperate zones. There is no species of crow peculiar to the island, those which are occasionally met with among the mountains are the descendants of the ones which Count Kabayama set free from his warship at the time of the occupation of the island in 1895. According to specialists most of the animals found in Formosa are much more nearly allied to those in Japan, Malaysia and India than to those existing on the neighbouring Chinese coasts. Singing birds are few and far between. The snake family is well represented and very abundant. Indeed the island is noted for its venomous serpents. The fish do not differ much from those which are caught in Japanese waters, except that they are as a rule less palatable.

It seems to me that all forms of life in the island are more or less affected by the climate. Formosa stretches over the semi-tropical and tropical zones, and the temperature at one point differs greatly from that at another point at the same elevation and but a few miles off, thus producing phenomenal changes in the vegetation. That is why the island enjoys a much greater variety of plant life than most tropical countries. Plants continue growing all the year round. Flowers bloom at all seasons of the year. Mosquito nets are indispensable even on New Year's Day. It would be a mistake to infer from this that the island enjoys one continual summer, for such is not the case. Spring begins in March and lasts till the end of May, the weather being generally warm. Summer lasts from the beginning of June till the middle of September, and the heat then is very intense. October and November correspond to the Little Spring of Japan, and are the healthiest months in the whole year. The rainy season sets in in December, and for twenty or thirty days the drizzle continues day and night without interruption. This period is like the rainy season which Japan experiences before the summer commences, except that in Formosa it is much longer. During this season putrefaction sets in very rapidly, and it is then that malaria and other fevers which are caused by decaying plants are most prevalent. It is a most depressing and trying season, and nobody feels good for anything until the south-west monsoon sets in and entirely dissipates the moisture in the air. Although the rainy season is so unpleasant to men and animals, the fertility of the island is largely dependent on it. Vegetation thrives amazingly; a shoot stuck in the ground at that time, no matter how carelessly, is almost certain to grow. Strange to say, the north is much wetter than the south; in fact, Kelung has the distinction of being the fourth wettest place in the world. The following table shows how ample is the rainfall annually received by the island :—

TABLE OF COMPARATIVE RAINFALL (INCHES) FOR THE WORLD.¹*(Formosan stations are printed in capital letters.)*

Cherrapoonjee (India)	618	Bermuda	55
Maranhao (Brazil)	280	Kobe	55
Vera Cruz (Mexico)	183	Havana	52
KELUNG	158	Buenos Ayres	52
Caracas (Venezuela)	155	Foochow	51
Solomon Islands (Coast Station) .	150	Sydney	49
Buitenzorg (Java)	150	Vancouver	47
Cayenne (French Guiana)	108	Amoy	46
Hong Kong	96	Shanghai	43
Singapore	92	FISHER ISLAND (Pescadores) .	43
KOSHUN	91	Canton	39
TAIHOKU	88	Honolulu	37
Sierra Leone	87	BAKO (Pescadores)	36
SOUTH CAPE	87	Ayanak (Siberia)	35
Naha (Loochoos)	85	Algiers	35
Port Jackson (Australia)	82	Pekin	27
Ceylon	77	London	25
Calcutta	76	Delhi	24
Manila	76	Berlin	24
TAKOW	74	Cape Town	23
TAICHU	73	Paris	22
Para	71	San Francisco	22
Swatow	65	Adelaide	21
Florida	62	Monterey (California)	12
San Juan (Porto Rico)	60	Alexandria	10
New Orleans	60	Port Said	2
TAINAN	58		

According to the returns compiled by the Formosan Government, the average temperature of Formosa for the five years which ended in 1901 was as follows :—

¹ *The Island of Formosa*, by J. W. Davidson.

[illegible]

The above table was compiled by carrying out twenty-four observations a day in the northern districts, and six observations a day in the middle and southern parts.

From this table it will be seen that the middle part of the island is both by its temperature and weather the most suitable for residential purposes, but its natural advantages are counteracted by the lack of modern facilities. The extreme north and south are, on account of the facilities of communication which they enjoy, much the most civilised; the middle portion merely follows in their footsteps.

During the easterly storm which visited Taihoku on the 5th of August, 1898, a wind velocity of 97·3 miles an hour was recorded. The N.N.E. wind of 1899 blew at Taichu with a velocity of 52·1 miles an hour; and the S.S.W. wind on the 1st of October, 1896, blew at Tainan with a velocity of 59·3 miles an hour. At Koshun, on the 20th of May, 1900, during a southerly gale there was recorded a velocity of 85·7 miles an hour.

Early in the spring of 1904, the island had a population of 3,137,000. The Chinese, who form the greater part of it, occupy the vast and fertile plains. They may be divided into two classes—Haklos and Hakkas. This distinction first arose in China from historical and social causes, but it has become as clear and well defined as though founded on racial distinctions.

The Haklos may be divided into four groups, Amoy, Tswengchoo, Changchoo, and Changpoo, according to their dialects and the districts in Fokien from which they come. They are by some authors called "The Min Caste". They number some 2,400,000.

The Hakkas—or "The Yueh Caste," as some writers call them—now number over 400,000. Their ancestors mostly emigrated from the province of Canton. According to the *Account of a Trip to the Hakka Districts in Kwangtung*, written by a Frenchman, M. Pant, the Hakkas originally lived at Kiayingchow in Kwangtung Province, but, early in the eighth century, they emigrated to other parts of the same province and also to Fokien and Kwangsi.

There is an interesting tradition about them. When Hwang Chao was on his way at the head of an army to attack

Kiaying-chow, a woman met him carrying two children, the bigger one on her back and the smaller in her arms. Accosting her he asked her why she was in such a hurry. Not knowing who her questioner was, she replied that she was endeavouring to escape from Hwang Chao. On being asked why she carried the larger child on her back and the smaller one in her arms, she said: "The smaller child is my own, and if need be I can leave it behind; but I would rather die than lose the other, as he is my husband's own brother". Greatly impressed with these words, Hwang Chao told her who he was, and added, "Go straight back to your house, and hang up a string bean at the door, so that I may know your house and order my men not to molest you in any way". The woman obeyed his directions, and her neighbours all followed her example and escaped injury. People in the adjoining districts also took refuge in the town, so that it was soon crowded with the refugees. On the restoration of peace they all emigrated to Canton and neighbourhood. To this day the Hakkas regard Kiaying-chow as their original home, and on a certain day each year they still hang up a string bean at the door of each of their houses. Kiaying-chow is on the way from Canton to Fokien *via* the Tungkiang.

The Hakkas were driven about from place to place, and at length sought peace in Formosa from a life of misery and oppression on the mainland. They are very industrious and quite ready to endure hardships. The Hakka women follow the customs of their unfortunate ancestors and work in the fields with their husbands; they do not bind their feet. The Haklo women, on the other hand, adhere strictly to the ancient customs prevailing in South China. They bind their feet and stay at home doing nothing while their husbands are out working in the fields. Thus the Hakkas frequently succeed where the Haklos fail.

Before the arrival of these Chinese the savage tribes were the masters of the whole island, but, being driven back by the invaders, they took refuge in the mountainous districts. They now number it is believed about 100,000 souls. Some of them entered into close communication with the new-comers, and thus gradually abandoned many of their original customs, in some cases their language also, and adopted the language and

customs of the Chinese. For this reason, they are often called "Domesticated Savages". They now number about 35,000 altogether.

The coming of the Japanese added a third distinct element to the population. Their number has already reached 50,000, excluding soldiers.

CHAPTER V.

REAL ESTATE AND TENANTS' RIGHTS.

A visit to the Bureau of Surveys—History of the Formosans—A neglected colony—Difficulties met with by the first immigrants—Clan fights—The growth of landlordism—Complicated ownership—The relation of landlord and tenant—The Government demand—Some land values—The classification of land—Liu Ming-chuan's attempt to remeasure the land—A temporary Bureau of Surveys established—Regulations for the investigation of land questions—Survey of the land—The Bureau's employees—Success of the investigation—Maps—A true estimate of the area of the land, and the taxation returns—A Government ordinance—The Government as landlord—Landlordism and feudalism.

THE Governor-General's Office at Taihoku, unlike what one might expect, is an unpretentious wooden structure in Chinese style, and but for its height did not appeal to me as a place of residence. On the left of the office stands another building which reminded me of a country district office. As we passed I noticed two native Formosans, a man and a woman, in earnest conversation with an official inside. My guide, Baron Goto, told me that the building we had just passed was the Bureau for Land Surveys, and that the man and woman I had noticed were disputing their rights to some landed property. I had more than once been informed that Formosan women lived in privacy and took very little interest in anything but their toilets. When, therefore, I saw a native woman insisting on her rights inside a Government office, my curiosity was roused at once, and I wished to investigate the matter further. We therefore went round to the Bureau of Surveys to see what was taking place. Mr. Nakamura, the Director of the Bureau, kindly explained what I wanted to know, and other officials showed me their survey maps, producing different registers, and giving me minute explanations as to their use. They also showed me how theodolites and other surveying instruments

were used. When they had finished their explanations, I could not help admiring the amount of work they had accomplished. Unperceived by the people at large, a great social revolution—rare in our day, and rare too in the economical history of the world—had been started in this Bureau, and was then rapidly approaching its end, silently and without confusion.

Formosa was a Chinese settlement until it was ceded to us in 1895, and most of the inhabitants are of Chinese descent. The settlement was not controlled by the Government nor by a commercial company as so many colonial enterprises have been since. The settlers were Chinese immigrants who poured over unceasingly in their search for wealth, and whose departure the Chinese Government countenanced without actively supporting. They were content to build up their administration on the achievements of the people, but for 200 years they never governed the island in the true sense of the word, nor was there in all those years a single man who might be called a great legislator. The social conditions were in a similar unsatisfactory state, being based on the customs and habits which the immigrants had brought with them from the Provinces of Fokien and Canton, modified only by natural human passions. To govern such people is fully as difficult a task as to found a new colony.

The first essential for an infant society is territory. Happiness and wealth, enjoyment and influence, yea the very ability to exist, all depend on land. The land laws of Formosa were, however, in great disorder, only of benefit to the cunning and powerful at the expense of the weak. As long as this wretched system remained in force, it was impossible for the natives to enjoy life, and hopeless to look for any prosperity in the island. For that reason our authorities opened the Bureau for Land Surveys, and directed it to revise the land tax, revalue and remeasure the land, estimate its producing capacity, make trigonometrical surveys, and ascertain what modifications were required in the land laws—in fact, to attend to every question that might arise in regard to land.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century when the Japanese "Dwarf Slaves" were ravaging the Chinese coasts, the first Chinese immigrants arrived in Formosa, and settled for the most part along the southern coast. Subsequently both

Chinese and Japanese pirates made the island their headquarters, and the Chinese settlers began to land farther and farther north, installing themselves only along the coast, and leaving the savages in undisputed possession of the vast and fertile interior. Not a deerskin, nor even a single bird, could the new-comers obtain from the savages without payment.

On account of the long peace which had lasted for more than three centuries, the increase of population in China during the closing years of the seventeenth century was quite unprecedented, and a large number of people were obliged to go abroad to earn a livelihood. Moreover, the Tartar invasion in the north, and the increased activity of brigands in the interior of the Empire, induced thousands of Chinese to leave their homes and flock to Formosa. By this time the districts near the coast were already overcrowded, and the majority of the new arrivals were forced farther inland. They set out from China expecting to find absolute freedom in their new homes, and were greatly disappointed on seeing the actual conditions. They wanted to plough, but the native landowners could not be driven away like birds, and refused to listen to their demands before receiving ample compensation. If they attempted to seize the land by force, the rightful owners attacked and killed them. Under these circumstances they chose to become the retainers of such of the older settlers as possessed sufficient wealth or influence to obtain for them the lease of land, and these latter came in time to wield great influence.

Though the land was gradually wrested from the savage aborigines, racial wars were of frequent occurrence. In order to make it possible for the peasants to farm with any degree of security, volunteer troops had to be raised to keep back the savages. Proofs are still extant showing how on occasions the peasants themselves used to fight with the savages, and on the restoration of peace betake themselves again to the plough. In general, however, they were too weak to offer any effectual resistance, and were consequently obliged to rely on the leading families for protection and assistance, a fact which contributed not a little to the power and influence of these families. As the number of settlers increased and more land was brought under cultivation, the exclusiveness of the various families and clans increased to such an extent that even trifling disputes

were almost certain to lead to bloody combats. The clan fights, which were so terribly frequent in Fokien, were introduced into Formosa in a more cruel form, and occupy a very important place in the history of the island. The Civil War which lasted from 1859 to 1862, originated in a quarrel between the people of Changchoo on the one side and those of Tswengchoo and Canton on the other. This alone is sufficient to show what great calamities these clan fights brought upon the island.

The leading families then by wresting the land from the savages, furnishing food and clothes to those who engaged in agriculture, and defending the farmers from the attacks of lawless mobs and savages, occupied a position of great influence, and became in a sense lords of the manor, levying taxes from the farmers. This condition of affairs was recognised by the Chinese Government, who imposed taxes on the leading families and held them responsible for the behaviour of their tenants. Thus the Amoy system, under which the most influential family in each district is a kind of petty despot, took root in the island and became with very few exceptions even more absolute than in China. These leading Formosan families are called "Kansheu" (Chief Land Opener), or "Yeh-hu" (Employers). Each Kansheu usually had several hundred thousand acres of land which was cultivated by two or three hundred thousand farmers. Their influence was tremendous, and they were, so to speak, petty feudal lords. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the feud between the Chinese settlers and the savages was about at its height, Kiang King and Kwang Fu were the Yeh-hu of Bioritsu, and Kwoh Tsun the Yeh-hu of the Districts of Chikuho, Hokuho, Chuko and Kaizanko. They maintained volunteer troops at their own expense, and fought against the savages, driving them off into the mountainous regions. To show their high appreciation of these services, the Chinese Government divided between them the land which had been taken from the savages, so that Kwoh's territory extended as far as Hachiriho in the north, Fusanki in the south, and eastwards from the sea right up to the walls, which had been built by the Chinese Government to separate the Chinese settlements from the savage territory. This single fact will give some idea of the magnitude of the influence which was

wielded by the leading Formosan families of that age, and also of the extent of their territories.

But time works many changes. The life of ease and opulence enjoyed by the Kansheu undermined the energies of their descendants, who gradually became more and more self-indulgent, abandoning themselves to sensual pleasures and idleness. On the other hand, their tenants were not now so destitute as their ancestors had been, having by diligence and hard work become independent. So it happened that the Fokien custom, that the landlord and tenant have both a joint right in the land, was observed in Formosa also, and almost every field was jointly owned. In accordance with this custom no landlord could arbitrarily either evict a tenant or raise his rent. At first this practice was confined to certain localities, but it very soon found favour through the whole island, and all who wished to invest in land were obliged to recognise the custom and concede from the outset certain rights to their tenants. The tenants again, many of whom had by this time become fairly wealthy, began to sublet their fields to other poorer peasants, and were in consequence distinguished by the name "Small Rent Receivers," while the original landowners were known as "Great Rent Receivers". The rent paid to the landowner was called "Taiso" (Great Rent). By this time very few enjoyed a clear title to any lot of ground, nearly every plot being owned jointly. The landowner could collect the rent from his tenant, but was powerless either to sell the land, or to lease it to any one else; the tenant on the other hand could either sell or sublet the land.

From the above, we are justified in asserting that in Formosa the inherited rights of the landowning class have been compelled to give way before the efficiency and diligence of the tenants—a strange phenomenon indeed which we, Japanese, have never either seen or heard of before. Of course the remarkable relation thus existing between the landowner and his tenant was not always based upon the historical developments referred to above. Sometimes cunning and influential families, who had done nothing towards cultivating or clearing the land, managed successfully to defraud the Government and the people, and to collect rent from fields which really belonged to others. For instance, Hwang, a crafty

resident of Tainan, secured the rights to Nanshinseiri and Sankeiseiri in this way. In like manner, Hwan Pan-yuen, Wu Pang and Lin Hung obtained the rights to Gaibuteiri. The origin of the landowners' rights is thus not the same in all cases, but one point is always clear, and that is, that they were obtained more often by force than by investment and labour. Time gradually weakened these rights, while those of the tenant, who actually ploughed the fields, became stronger and stronger. The natural result was that the ownership of the land came to be divided between the landlord and the tenant. Some Formosans paid rent for the land they leased from savages, but others bought it outright, as in the case of Toseiriosho, Daifunsho and Sobunsho. Others again sublet the land they had leased from the savages, receiving a rent from their tenants, and paying rent themselves to the savages.

The legal rentals were very irregular, and varied according to the fertility of the ground, and the difficulties which its first cultivators had encountered. In many cases the rent was settled according to the tithe system. Under this arrangement one-tenth of the crop went to the landlord, the remaining nine-tenths belonging to the tenant. In some instances this was changed, and the landlord received, in addition to his tenth, 5 per cent. of the tenant's share. Some tenants handed over to their landlords 40 bushels of unhulled rice for every $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land they held, while others delivered 30 per cent. of the crop. In Taihoku, Bunzanho and the neighbourhood, this comparatively high rate was paid because of the difficulties the first cultivators experienced in preparing the ground, and the much larger monetary assistance which they received from their landlords. In Tokan, Chikuho and Hokuho districts some of the landlords received one-tenth of the crop for the first three years, while the land was being brought under cultivation. They afterwards measured the land, and charged a rent not exceeding 40 bushels for every $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. There was still another arrangement by which the landlord claimed an additional sum for freight. A brief explanation of this is necessary. In early years it was the custom for the landlord to send his collector to the tenant and charge the tenant a certain sum for the freight on the rice with which the rent was paid. This charge amounted to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the rent, and

was made irrespective of distance. In later years the landlord made the tenant bring the rice to his house, but still charged him the extra amount for freight. When the landowner sold his rights, this bonus was always taken into account.

From the political point of view these Formosan institutions were much safer than if the whole of one district had belonged absolutely to one man, and all the inhabitants had been his tenants. There were, however, many drawbacks. Firstly, since but few owned any land absolutely, and nearly every tract was held in common, property rights were very insecure. Secondly, as the landlord and tenant rights were often sold independently of each other, it often happened that the landlord did not know who his tenants were, and the tenants were, in like manner, ignorant as to who their landlord was. Needless to say, the landlord was the heavier loser. The tenant stood to lose little or nothing, being liable for payment at all times; on the other hand, the landlord, whose tenants had sold and resold his fields without his knowledge, often had no idea from whom he could collect his rent. In spite of this, the Government held him responsible for the payment of the taxes, and he was sometimes obliged to pay taxes on property from which he could get no rents at all.

The land in Formosa may be divided into three classes. The first was the "Crown Lands," which, during the Dutch occupation, the Government cultivated with its own money, and which in Koxinga's days was called "Government Lands". These lands, together with those in the hands of civil and military officers, were afterwards surrendered to the tenants, and became their absolute property. The rights on lands of this description were therefore not divided, its owners enjoying a clear title.

The second class consisted of land which the people cultivated on their own account, and the full ownership of which belonged to them. There was not much land of this description, but what there was owed its existence to peculiar circumstances. Giran was at first farmed by the people of Chang-chow; many years later a native, Wu Sha by name, used his influence to induce the Cantonese to unite with the people of Chang-chow and Chuan-chow in farming an extensive area in joint tenancy. This land was known as the "Land Common

to the Three Families". When the Government decided to impose land taxes, Wu and his fellow holders presented a petition to the authorities requesting that their position as landlords might be officially recognised, and they given permission to collect rents from their tenants, and pay taxes to the Government. Yang Ting-li, the District Magistrate, however, was well aware of the inconveniences inseparable from this system, and rejected the petition, recognising the actual cultivators as the real owners of the land. In this way full ownership was preserved in the Giran District.

The third and last class, consisting of Government land, may be subdivided into four classes. At the time of Lin Shaoan-wen's rebellion in 1786, the more civilised savages joined the Imperial army, and distinguished themselves by their bravery. To show his appreciation for these services, as well as with the hope of utilising them in future emergencies, Fuh Kang-ngan, the Viceroy of Fokien, settled a number of them as military colonists. About the same time the Viceroy discovered that the Chinese were farming more than 9,000 acres of land outside the walls, which the Government had constructed to stop the Chinese from encroaching any further upon the Savage Territory. This the Viceroy confiscated and handed over to his own dependants. The revenue obtained from this land was devoted to the support of the military colonists, and the rents were therefore called "Military Rents". The occupiers paid their rents regularly for many years, but at last stopped doing so, as the boundaries of their fields had become indistinguishable. Still it is an undeniable fact that these fields existed in the midst of others, and the name at least still remains.

The second class consisted chiefly of land which the Government had cleared, and had since cultivated at its own expense. A portion of it had, moreover, been confiscated from civil and military officers, who had originally claimed it unlawfully. The whole income from this land, some of which was covered by forests, went to the Government. Although the land was so varied in character, the rights of the Government were generally those of a landlord.

The third class was the "Land of High Favours". The Government at first purchased landlords' rights and also re-

claimed unoccupied land with the surplus of its revenue. This land, together with that taken from the savages by force of arms, constituted the "Land of High Favours," the name being derived from the interesting fact that the income from such land was all spent in festivals in memory of deceased soldiers, or distributed among the troops in the shape of rewards.

The fourth class consisted of land which had been confiscated from those who had conspired against the Government. In the Taihoku district, it was mostly confiscated from Tsai Kang and Wu I-jan, who took part in the Lin Kiawan rebellion, and to this the Government had the rights both of landlord and tenant. In other districts both rights were rarely confiscated, the one or the other being appropriated in whole or in part. This lack of uniformity in the land system encouraged every imaginable method of fraud, and honest people suffered much loss in consequence.

China, during her long occupation of the island, made no attempt for 200 years to remeasure the land, and extensive areas remained quite exempt from taxation. Tracts, which were officially calculated as one Ko ($2\frac{1}{2}$ acres), often measured several Ko. In 1886, however, when Liu Ming-chuan was appointed Governor, an attempt was made to effect a radical reformation. In order to detect frauds, to equalise the taxes, and to define clearly the relations existing between the landlords and their tenants, he issued instructions that the whole island should be remeasured. He also directed that the tenant should be regarded as the true owner of the land, and be held responsible for the payment of all taxes, that the rents payable by the tenant should in consequence be cut down 40 per cent., and that the land rents imposed on a field should all be included in one sum. On the completion of the land survey, the landlord was to receive a yearly rent of twenty-five bushels of unhulled rice for each Ko of first class land, and sixteen bushels for each Ko of an inferior quality, while the tenant's share was to be from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. of the crop. Judicious as this plan of Governor Liu's was, it proved very unpopular and met with stubborn resistance everywhere, disturbances being reported in various places. To make matters worse, a section of people in China also united in opposing the plan. This proved fatal to the scheme, and, though the land survey was carried through

and the taxes were revised, the remainder of the project was abandoned. Shortly after, Governor Liu resigned on the plea of ill-health. Notwithstanding the unpopularity of his measures, his failure must be largely attributed to the fact that his main object was not to remedy the wrongs suffered by the people, but to increase the Government revenue, which caused the petty officials to exercise greater partiality than they should have done.

When the island was ceded to Japan in 1895, the whole land system was in such confusion that no reliable record of the area under cultivation was obtainable. For that reason our authorities set to work first of all to revise the land tax laws and make a thorough survey. The social order and customs of an agricultural country have their foundation entirely on the land system and tax laws. From the political point of view too, the land tax is the most important item of the national revenue, no matter how small a proportion it may bear to the whole amount. In July, 1898, our authorities promulgated regulations regarding the records of land surveys throughout the island. In September, the Temporary Bureau of Surveys was established at Taihoku, with Baron Goto as Director, and the work of land investigation was commenced. The Bureau's principal duties were to survey the whole island, estimate the produce, make maps, ledgers, and land registers. In other words, the work to be done was similar to that carried out in Japan in the land tax revision of 1874, when all landed property was reassessed, trigonometrical and military surveys made and a census taken. For these purposes the Government appropriated Yen 5,400,000.

The Land Investigation Regulations provide:—

1. That in order to enable the authorities to make maps and draw up Estate Ledgers, every "Gyoshu" (Landowner) shall furnish a report of the land in his possession, and upon receipt of this report the authorities shall survey the land.
2. That for the purposes of this survey thirteen feet shall be equal to one Sai.
3. That land measuring twenty-five Sai square shall be called one Ko; one tenth of a Ko, one Bu; one hundredth of a Ko, one Rin; one thousandth of a Ko, one Mo; and one ten thousandth of a Ko, one Shi.
4. That the officials may allow the landowner, or his repre-

sentative, to be present as witnesses at the time of the survey of his land.

5. That the boundary lines of each field, as well as its landowner, be fixed by the Land Investigation Local Committee, which shall be appointed and presided over by the Governor of the district (Cho). Any landowner who is discontented with the decisions of this Local Committee may appeal within sixty days to the Land Investigation Higher Committee. This Committee shall have the Governor-General as its Chairman, and shall be composed of three judges, and three high administrative officials, all of whom shall be nominated by the Governor-General; together with three men of high learning and reputation who shall be nominated by the Governor-General, and approved by His Majesty the Emperor through the Prime Minister. There is no appeal whatever from the decisions of this Committee.

6. The rights of all landowners failing to send in any report shall be transferred to the Treasury.

As, according to the above regulations, the rights of ownership were forfeited for ever unless claimed within a certain period, it was expected that all the owners would send in their claims promptly; but, as is usually the case, the movement aroused much suspicion in the minds of the uncivilised people. The Bureau of Surveys, anxious to remove any misunderstanding, issued circulars explaining the nature of the undertaking, and assuring the people that the Government's motive was not to increase the revenue, but to promote the real interests of the islanders by reforming the irregularities of the land system. These circulars proved very efficacious. The natives, who showed some hesitation at first, began to attend to the regulations, and were before long vying with each other in asking the authorities to come and survey their lands. Thereupon the Government commenced work with the survey of Sekitei, Bunzan, and Hisetsu in the Taihoku District. Sekitei and Bunzan are known as two of the wildest regions in the whole island, and on account of the daring of the inhabitants are supposed to have once been the resort of savages. On the other hand, Hisetsu is a plain, the greater part of which is under cultivation. Its inhabitants are simple, friendly people. The experiments of the authorities in these two different

localities were quite successful, and were followed by the despatch of some 800 officials, many corps of engineers, to all parts of the island. The work was divided into two sections, business and surveying. To the officials of Hannin rank were entrusted the various preparations for the change, investigating the boundary lines between the different towns and villages, examining the reports and evidence which were sent in, making general maps, taking tours of inspection, conducting inquiries into the time-honoured customs and habits, etc., etc. The work of the engineers was first to make a general trigonometrical survey of the whole island, then to correct this by making other surveys, using certain fixed points as centres, and lastly to make surveys correct in every detail. To begin with, the whole surface of the island was divided into sections, each four square miles in area. For the first survey the poles were placed 10,000 metres apart, for the second 5,000 metres apart, and for the third and minutest one, only 2,000 metres apart. In this way 1,200 square miles were surveyed at a time. In despatching such a large number of men to different parts, the Bureau of Surveys employed a number of junior engineers, and encouraged them to do their best by offering them increased salaries, or an extra bonus for extra work. At the same time the authorities took measures to induce them to save a certain portion of their salaries, so that on the expiration of their term of employment they might be independent. All the junior engineers, who had finished their work, and whose term had expired, were obliged to return at once to Japan. These regulations were made to prevent their squandering their savings, and did much to maintain order among them. I was told that on an average each of them surveyed as much as fifteen acres a day.

When I inspected the different maps and ledgers in the Bureau of Surveys, and also had the pleasure of seeing the officials at work, I could not but admire the vastness of the undertaking, and the scientific way in which it was being carried through. There is no town or village in the island the exact position of which has not been determined, no field or plantation, however small, which will not be found upon one or other of the prepared maps; in short, precise information is at once obtainable as to the size, etc., of any piece of ground down to the smallest rice field.

When we arrived at the godown reserved for ledgers, Baron Goto requested one of the officials to show me the map of a certain village. The officials referred to the index, and speedily spread a map out before us. It was much like those issued by the General Staff Office, except that it was drawn to a scale of 1 in 600, while those prepared by the General Staff Office, if I remember rightly, are drawn to 1 in 200,000. In the village map we saw rice fields, tea plantations, brooks, hills and woods, all drawn with that precision which the trigonometrical survey alone can secure. District maps were then produced. They were, in system, similar to the village map I had just seen, but their scale was 1 in 20,000. With one of these maps and a pencil it was easy at once to ascertain the size of each village. In that godown it would be almost as easy to examine the physical contour and geographical features of Formosa as it is to study the palm of one's own hand. There were also a large number of maps which I did not see, but which were drawn, I was told, as either preparatory or supplementary to the village and district maps. These were maps relating to disputed property, original maps of towns and villages, maps showing the progress of the survey, etc., etc.

The fields and plantations thus measured have been classified according to their productiveness. The authorities instructed the people to provide the Government with full particulars as to the annual rent, the value of the tenant right, the tea, sugar and sweet potato crops, and the irrigation charge. After comparing these reports with the results of their own investigations, the authorities decided the legal land rent of each field. They knew well the danger of determining such a matter by wild supposition and mere custom, and were constantly on their guard against the deceptions of the cunning people.

Compared with the gigantic enterprise under review, the revision of the land tax which was carried out in Japan in the year 1874 was mere child's play. The whole area of Formosa has now been accurately measured, its hills and valleys carefully surveyed, and its productive capacity ascertained. This is of untold value to the military and civil administration. In the early years of our occupation we were informed that the total area of the fields and plantations was about 1,047,338

acres, but it was generally expected that a careful survey would increase these figures by some 20 per cent. When the work was finished, however, these figures were, to our great surprise, nearly doubled, and the receipts from the land tax showed a corresponding increase. To be more exact, before the survey the total area of the fields and fish nurseries (including Crown Lands) was believed to be 890,000 acres, which yielded Yen 860,706 as tax. The result of the measurement, which was finished last spring (1905) shows that the real area is 1,535,163 acres, and the receipts from the Land Tax have jumped up to Yen 2,989,287. Part of this large increase is due to a rise in the rates, and part is accounted for by the fact that, as the Government purchased the Taiso (Landowners') Rights, the annual rents which had been paid previously to the landowners are now included in the above figures. This increase in receipts shows how this Land Survey has revolutionised the system of land tenure.

History furnishes more than one example where attempts to revise the land tax and reassess the land gave rise to disturbances, and the work had to be given up owing to the determined opposition shown by the people; but in Formosa this great work has gone forward easily and silently without causing any trouble. It has cost the lives of only thirty-one persons altogether, who died fighting, not against the people, but against the climate, the majority of their deaths being due to beri-beri, malarial fever, and dysentery. There were no struggles with the Formosans; only one man met a violent death, and he was killed by brigands.

As soon as the Survey had been finished, and the relations between the landowners and their tenants made clear, the Formosan Government authorities took measures to purchase the landowners' rights throughout the island, and issued a loan for that purpose. The Japanese Diet approved of this action, and in May, 1904, the following Ordinance was promulgated :—

ORDINANCE NO. 6.

For the Adjustment of Taiso (Landowners') Rights.

Art. 1.—The Taiso Rights which were granted by virtue of Ordinance No. 9, which was issued in 1903, are hereby declared

null and void. Those Taiso Rights which become valid after the coming into force of this Ordinance, are regarded as having become valid at the date of the coming into force of this Ordinance, but these rights shall not be used before they do become valid.

Art. 2.—The Government shall pay an indemnity to those persons whose Taiso Rights become void by virtue of the preceding article, or to their successors.

Art. 3.—This indemnity shall be paid in Loan Bonds to be issued by virtue of the Law of Formosan Works Loan, but odd amounts which are too small to be paid in bonds shall be paid in cash.

Art. 4.—The amount of the indemnity shall be determined by multiplying the amount of the Taiso Rent hitherto paid by a rate to be fixed by the Governor-General.

Art. 5.—In regard to the Tithe Taiso Rents and their variations, the amount received in an average year shall be the amount of the Taiso Rent referred to in the preceding article.

Art. 6.—The Governor-General shall publish a list of the names of those whose Taiso Rights have become valid, together with the amount of the indemnity to be paid in each case.

Art. 7.—Those who desire to receive the indemnity must apply to the Governor-General within six months from the date of the publication of their names and the indemnity amounts in accordance with the foregoing article.

Art. 8.—Any one who fails to apply within the period prescribed in the preceding article forfeits all claim to the indemnity.

Art. 9.—The owners of such Taiso Rights, as have hitherto been paid annually, are hereby authorised to collect their Taiso Rent for the first six months of 1904, and the owners of such Taiso Rights as have been paid semi-annually may also do likewise.

Art. 10.—Any regulations which may be found necessary as supplementary to this Ordinance shall be issued by the Governor-General.

This Ordinance shall come into force on the 1st of June, 1904.

In accordance with the above ordinance, the Formosan Government purchased the landowners' rights to the value of

Yen 3,672,436, issuing loan bonds to the amount of Yen 4,080,485. Thus the Taiso Right, which had for three hundred years been the foundation of the land system in Formosa, was abolished, and the tenants came to enjoy the absolute ownership of the land which they or their ancestors had been farming for three centuries. Such a change certainly amounted to a social revolution. Most of the revolutions recorded in history required sacrifices, but the present one was entirely bloodless. This change has given the tenant absolute ownership, thus insuring security of property, and saving much unnecessary trouble in the payment of taxes. The landowners have received an equal benefit, for now there is little likelihood of their being cheated by cunning and unscrupulous tenants, and having to pay taxes to the Government for fields which bring them in no rents. With a goodly bundle of Government bonds secure in their cash-boxes, they can spend the rest of their lives in happy retirement.

In short, this change has not only effectually closed those avenues which, as long as they were open, always lured the needy tenant to lay himself out to cheat his landlord; it has also ensured security of landed property, so that capitalists can now invest in Formosan land without any qualms. These benefits will, I believe, be permanent.

Though the relations which have hitherto existed in Formosa were legally those which existed between a landlord and his tenants, practically they were those of a feudal lord and his vassals. The former Daimyos of Japan held their territories by right of occupation, or by right of inheritance, while the common people were mere tenants. At length, however, the real ownership of the land passed into the hands of the people, the feudal lords merely retaining the power to impose taxes upon the people. The old independent Formosan landowners have now abandoned their ancestral rights of occupation, and have, instead, received Government securities. History repeats itself; what was accomplished in Japan a few years after the Restoration has now taken place in Formosa.

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCE AND ECONOMY.

The importance of finance—Relations between the mother-country and her colonies—The burden of Formosa—Table of incomes and subsidies—Formosa's financial emancipation—A comparison between Formosa and French Indo-China—Japanese and Formosan taxes compared—Reasons for Formosa's heavy taxation—Special expenditure—Japan's profits from Formosa—Table of expenditures and loans—Redemption of the Loan Bonds—Government taxation policy—Estimated income and expenditures for 1903—Rates of land tax—Tax on tea—Systems of taxation in French and British colonies—Revised land tax rates.

THE most important question in the life of a nation is the supply of food and clothing for its subjects; for this reason the success of an administration must be gauged by its financial success. However pretentious a policy it may adopt, no administration can look for long-continued success unless its finances are skilfully managed, and placed upon a firm basis. Some scholars say that ancient Rome fell because she failed in this respect. It has also been said that the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in more recent times was really due to the financial mistakes made by the Central Government, and that the revolutionary war began in the Government exchequer, not with the battles of Toba and Fushimi.

Colonies are not drawn towards the mother-country by historical associations or by a desire to be ruled over by the same sovereign. They can be only attracted by the hope of mutual profit, and a colonial administration can succeed only so far as its finances are wisely ordered.

Many people say that it was the despotic behaviour of the priests which recently involved Spain in the loss of nearly all her colonies, but I believe her financial blunders were the real cause. Under these conditions a student of colonial enterprise should desire first of all to examine a nation's financial organisation.

When Formosa first passed into our possession in 1895,

the island was in such a disturbed state that it was quite impossible to form an accurate estimate of her financial strength; but it was estimated that she would require an income of Yen 9,650,000, of which not more than Yen 2,710,000 could be raised in the island by taxation, the remaining Yen 6,940,000 having to be supplied by Japan. Those who were interested in the nation's welfare feared greatly for the future of the island, and were sadly disheartened at the terrible burden Japan had assumed, though some of them agreed that it was quite unavoidable, seeing that it was our first colonizing attempt. They were hopeful that the burden would grow less as years passed on, but in the Estimates for 1897, though the taxes to be collected in Formosa had risen to Yen 5,320,000, the expenses of the Government were put down at Yen 11,280,000, and there still remained a deficit of Yen 5,960,000 to be obtained from the Home Government. If such a question were brought up to-day, it would certainly give rise to prolonged discussion, but as the people were elated with their successes over China, the Estimates passed the Diet without much difficulty.

Since that date the island's income has steadily grown, and the subsidies from Japan have decreased. It was expected that until 1909 Formosa would continue to be a drain upon the Imperial Treasury. She has, however, belied these expectations; in 1904 she retained only Yen 700,000 out of the Yen 1,496,115 voted by the Diet, returning the remainder to Japan, and since that time has become entirely self-supporting, though her expenditure has risen to over Yen 20,000,000. This wonderful progress shows how extremely successful has been the financial policy of the colonial administration.

ESTIMATED INCOME OF FORMOSA FROM 1896-1904 (IN YEN).

Year.	Raised in Formosa.	Public Loan Bonds.	Subsidies from Japan.	Total.
1896	2,710,000	—	6,940,275	9,650,275
1897	5,320,000	—	5,959,048	11,279,048
1898	7,634,498	—	3,984,540	11,619,038
1899	11,226,618	3,200,000	3,000,000	17,426,618
1900	14,171,084	5,500,000	2,598,611	22,269,695
1901	12,515,262	4,864,382	2,386,689	19,766,333
1902	12,297,816	4,740,000	2,459,763	19,497,579
1903	13,509,018	4,068,751	2,459,763	20,037,532
1904	17,144,102	4,489,013	700,000	22,333,115

*regular expenses of govt.
see 137*

It will be seen from the above table that the income for 1902 was estimated to produce more than four times as much as that for 1896, but this is partially accounted for by the fact that in 1896 and 1897 the local taxes were very small owing to the disturbed state of the island, and were not included in the Estimates. As the income increased year by year, the subsidy from Japan, which was over Yen 6,940,000 in 1896, dropped to Yen 2,450,000 in 1902, and to Yen 700,000 in 1904, none at all being required in 1905. Those who feared that Japan would be heavily burdened each year must have greatly rejoiced at this happy result, for the total sum assigned to Formosa during these nine years was only about Yen 30,500,000.

After over twenty years' occupation, the subsidy which France granted to Indo-China amounted for eight years (1887-1895) to francs 750,000,000 (Yen 300,000,000), together with Public Loan Bonds worth francs 80,000,000. When French Indo-China recently became able to support herself without extraneous help, France rejoiced greatly and hailed the event as the dawn of a new era in colonization effort. The *Times* too expressed its admiration, and said the result showed what great talent the French had for colonizing. But Formosa was only nine and a half years in our possession before she became self-supporting, and she only required assistance to the extent of Yen 30,000,000 altogether. What would the French have said if Indo-China had done likewise?

The population of French Indo-China is 18,230,000. The income of the Governor-General's Office is 65,000,000 francs, and that of the local offices 32,000,000 francs approximately, equal altogether to Yen 38,800,000, making Yen 2'02 *per capita*. In Formosa each person pays on an average 70 sen as local tax, and Yen 3'85 as Central Government tax, making Yen 4'55 *per capita*. In Formosa, too, over Yen 2,000,000 are raised annually from the camphor, salt and opium monopolies, but no part of this can be called a direct tax, and for that reason is not included in the above figures. The revenue derived from these sources is so large because by virtue of the monopoly Japan is practically able to control the prices for camphor.

If we compare the above figures with the amounts paid in

taxes by the people of Japan, we see that, according to the estimates made before our war with Russia, each person paid Yen 2'16 as local tax. It should be noted that in Formosa the business tax is included among the local taxes, and so it is included here in order to facilitate the comparison. The total sum paid *per capita* in Japan for all taxes is Yen 3'34, which shows that the rate in Formosa averages Yen 1'21 more than in Japan, and Yen 2'53 more than in French Indo-China. If the people of Japan were taxed at the same rate as those in Formosa, the taxes would yield Yen 202,920,000 every year; in other words, an additional tax of Yen 60,000,000 might be imposed; but if such an addition, or even a much smaller one, were proposed, there would arise such an outcry as to render the scheme practically unworkable.

Taking this into consideration, it is easy to understand why it is best that the taxation laws in Formosa should be different from those in Japan, and why the island should be to that extent independent. When I was there, some Formosans told me that the taxes were heavier then than they were under the Chinese régime. I said to them: "It is possible the taxes may have been less at that time than now; but didn't you also have to give presents to the officials?" "Oh, yes," they said; "the practice was common among the rich families only, who did not mind, because degrees of rank or official titles were conferred on them in return." When I asked them what difference there was between the taxation at present and that which they had to pay during the brigand troubles, when many of them paid taxes not only to the Japanese authorities, but also to the brigands, they only smiled. I went on to show them why the taxation was heavy, and reminded them that the railroad had been built, new roads made, life and property secured, etc., etc. They had already realized their many advantages, and were satisfied. Though Formosa is certainly more heavily taxed than she used to be by the Chinese authorities, there are good reasons why the people should pay more now than before; the farmers receive much higher prices for their rice, wages are higher, and the opportunities for making large profits in business are vastly increased. A large number of the people are still ignorant of our true purposes, still in 1902 there were only 7,524 persons who should have paid taxes amounting altogether to Yen 33,862,

and from whom the authorities could obtain nothing ; and 166 persons who paid taxes amounting to Yen 7,182, after having been proceeded against. These figures are very small compared with Japan, where in the same year, 1902, the sum of Yen 805,332, payable by 220,232 persons, was obtained only through the courts, and 313,758 persons, who should have paid Yen 562,866 altogether, paid nothing whatever.

The income given in the table above is for the ordinary expenses of the Government, and therefore for special expenses resort must be had to other sources of revenue. These are :—

1. The Public Loan Bonds which up to 1902 amounted to 18,300,000. Japan accepts no responsibility whatever for these ; they are to be repaid by Formosa out of her own income.

2. Subsidies from Japan. Up to 1902 these amounted altogether to Yen 27,320,000. These two sources of revenue produced up to 1902 the sum of Yen 45,620,000 altogether. From the commencement of our occupation till 1902 the amount required for railway building, harbour construction, telegraph extension, and civil engineering works was Yen 32,350,000, leaving only Yen 13,270,000 for other purposes. Although it is well to carry on the administration as economically as possible, yet in a country requiring to be developed it is a great mistake for the Government to economise too much, and thus delay undertakings which are absolutely necessary for the improvement of the land. The authorities should press forward improvements, practising economy in other directions. Such is the policy adopted by our Government in Formosa.

Though Yen 30,000,000 seems a small subsidy for Japan to grant to her colony, still, even if it were entirely lost, would it not really be a most profitable investment ? In 1897 the imports from Japan were Yen 3,720,000, and the exports to Japan Yen 2,100,000, making a total of Yen 5,820,000. In 1904 the imports amounted to Yen 10,150,000, and the exports to Yen 10,430,000, a total of Yen 20,580,000, which is more than three times what they were seven years before. The total imports and exports from Japan during these eight years was over Yen 113,000,000. Upon a moderate calculation, Japan's profit upon this was no doubt not less than 15 per cent., that is to say, some Yen 16,950,000. Moreover, by means of the Formosan camphor monopoly the Japanese camphor in-

dustry, which had almost died out, was revived, and in the four years from 1899-1902 brought Japan a profit of Yen 1,850,000. I do not therefore think it any exaggeration to say that the total profit which accrued to Japan from Formosa during these eight years was Yen 18,800,000. If we subtract this amount from Yen 27,320,000, the amount of the Formosan subsidies up to 1902, there is a loss to Japan of only Yen 8,500,000. Let us however suppose that the subsidies are a capital fund, then Yen 18,800,000 is equal to something over 66 per cent. interest upon that capital, that is to say, an average of 8 per cent. per annum during the past eight years, amounting to over 11 per cent in 1904. The last subsidy was paid in 1904, and Formosa is now self-supporting. On the other hand, Japan's gains from trade with the island are increasing every year. If the trade continues to grow as it has done during the last six or seven years, Japan will by about the year 1910 have received back an equivalent of all the subsidies, together with the interest upon them. From that time Japan will have reached the goal of colonial enterprise, and be able to look to her colony for substantial support.

The Formosan estimates have actually been prepared for twenty years ahead, that is to say, up to 1922. They show an increase in revenue from new taxes and industrial improvements. The current expenses will, it is hoped, be less, as some of the special undertakings now in progress will by that time have been completed. It is calculated that in 1910, without any subsidy from Japan, and without paying anything towards the Public Loan Bonds, the revenue will amount to Yen 17,580,000, and the expenditure to Yen 13,560,000, leaving a surplus of Yen 4,000,000. In 1922 the revenue is estimated at Yen 18,670,000, and the expenditure at Yen 12,470,000, leaving a balance of Yen 6,200,000, thus furnishing sufficient funds to redeem the whole of the Public Loan Bonds.

ESTIMATED COMPARISON BETWEEN FORMOSA'S EXPENDITURES AND HER PUBLIC LOAN BONDS FOR TWENTY YEARS (1903-1922).

(Amounts given in Yen.)

Year.	Annual Income.	Annual Expenditure.	Balance.	Public Loan, Principal and Interest.	Total Balance.
1903	14,337,277	12,987,277	1,350,000	1,350,000	—
1904	15,619,330	13,624,115	1,995,215	1,895,376	99,839
1905	17,430,683	14,801,515	2,629,468	2,539,100	90,368
1906	18,010,739	14,952,576	3,058,163	2,926,658	131,505
1907	18,060,275	14,830,355	3,229,920	3,096,183	133,737
1908	18,120,414	14,748,628	3,371,786	3,221,558	150,228
1909	18,314,681	14,827,869	3,486,812	3,328,529	158,283
1910	17,582,843	13,568,634	4,014,209	4,117,048	102,839
1911	17,876,544	13,675,731	4,200,813	4,118,979	81,834
1912	18,024,689	13,476,955	4,547,734	4,384,174	163,560
1913	18,123,518	13,238,926	4,884,592	4,834,524	50,068
1914	18,232,005	13,241,631	4,990,374	4,859,399	130,975
1915	18,350,494	13,125,060	5,225,434	5,179,559	45,875
1916	18,379,829	12,809,203	5,570,626	5,529,709	40,917
1917	18,414,827	12,754,049	5,660,778	5,657,092	3,686
1918	18,455,401	12,629,588	5,825,813	5,721,887	103,926
1919	18,502,084	12,515,810	5,986,274	5,876,752	109,522
1920	18,554,821	12,502,705	6,052,116	5,916,472	135,644
1921	18,613,760	12,490,264	6,123,496	5,946,162	177,334
1922	18,679,063	12,478,477	6,200,586	5,965,822	234,764

It will be interesting to see upon what sources of income the Formosan authorities had to depend when they made the above calculations. The general idea in Japan is that the Government can at any time raise any money that is required, by increased taxation. But not so in Formosa. As there exists in the island a very strong prejudice against the taxing of anything but arable and forest lands, the authorities never impose taxes upon accumulated wealth, rather turning their attention to new undertakings. These taxes are levied, not only upon Formosans, but also upon those foreigners who have direct dealings with the Formosans. The authorities have therefore adopted the policy of State enterprises, and have monopolised camphor, opium and salt. They can now take advantage of their monopoly, and by changing the market prices of these articles, derive from them a stated part of the revenue. This policy has been very successful, the three above mentioned articles now forming a substantial asset.

ESTIMATED ACCOUNTS OF FORMOSA (IN YEN) FOR THE
YEAR 1903.

REVENUE.

Taxes—		
Land tax	861,791	
Tea-firing	402,757	
Mining	21,281	
Contract	107,724	
Exports to Japan and Formosan Ports	11,077	
Sugar consumption	689,419	
	<hr/>	2,094,049
Custom duties—		
Exports	323,414	
Import duties	1,175,753	
	<hr/>	1,499,167
Tonnage dues		15,306
From Government properties and enterprises:—		
Post and telegraph	628,307	
Salt monopoly	740,411	
Camphor monopoly	2,385,329	
Opium monopoly	3,917,086	
Forests	150,372	
Hospitals	90,479	
Railroad	722,500	
Prisoners' work	16,070	
Rents of Government land	216,341	
Hire of Government houses, etc.	6,184	
	<hr/>	8,873,079
Revenue stamps		71,152
Permits and licences		11,901
Miscellaneous—		
Customs' sundries	17,640	
Fines and confiscated property	22,770	
For Government property injured	23,927	
Sundries	21,704	
	<hr/>	86,041
Special Revenue —		
Sale of Government property	5,556	
Subsidy from Japan	2,459,763	
Public loan bonds	4,740,000	
	<hr/>	7,205,319
Total		<hr/> 19,856,014

EXPENDITURE.

Ordinary expenditure—	
Formosan shrine	18,000
Governor-General's office	681,313
Law courts	321,294
Local offices	703,932
Police department	1,689,625
Training police and jailers	105,640
Prison expenses	542,553
Hospitals	259,759
Medical schools	39,792
Education	125,001
Custom houses	273,773
Communications department	1,051,311
Observatories	25,379

Ordinary Expenditure (*continued*)—

Lighthouses, buoys, etc.	58,063
Harbour quarantine	25,748
Boats and boatmen	11,537
Telephone exchange	44,342
Formosan Government railway works	820,731
Monopoly office	3,639,552
Repayment of Formosan public loan bonds	1,350,000
Stamps, etc.	98
Amounts overpaid	8,000
Emergency charitable fund	50,000
Reserve fund	400,000

12,245,443

Special expenditure—

Railroad, harbour construction, land survey and jailers' residences	4,000,000
Public works	529,283
Improving and encouraging the manufacture of sugar	148,019
Sending goods to exhibition at Osaka	6,000
Prevention of animal diseases	15,000
Sanitary Bureau	40,000
Industrial works	240,000
Editing expenses	15,732
Rewards for capturing brigands	35,000
Various subsidies	667,000
Railway material	100,000
St. Louis International Exposition	36,000
Prevention of pest	41,650

5,873,684

Balance to credit of account 1,736,887

Total 19,856,014

A study of the above estimates will reveal the fact that indirect taxation is the chief source of revenue, the authorities finding it very difficult to raise direct taxes. The taxes on farm land have not been increased since the time of the Chinese occupation. Cultivated land is divided into several different classes, which are taxed as under :—

RATES OF ANNUAL LAND TAX IN YEN IMPOSED ON FORMOSAN FIELDS PER KO.

(One Ko equals 2·4 acres.)

	Paddy Fields.	Plantations and Gardens.
Class 1	4·746	3·881
" 2	3·881	3·20
" 3	3·20	2·56
" 4	2·56	2·048
" 5	2·048	1·434
" 6	1·434	1·025
" 7	1·025	·615

Paddy fields which are entered under Class 1 will in the neighbourhood of Taihoku yield two crops of unhulled rice a year, giving each time about forty bushels per acre. Such land is worth from Yen 600 to Yen 1,300 per Ko near Taihoku, and from Yen 500 to Yen 600 near Taichu. In such districts as Toroku, where but one crop is obtainable each year, it would fetch only about Yen 150. The prices vary too much in Formosa to allow a comparison with those of Japan. Land in Japan worth 400 or 500 Yen is taxed to the amount of Yen 19, so there is plenty of room for raising the land tax rates in Formosa.

On tea there is a tax of Yen 2.40 per 100 lb., a registration tax of 3 per cent. on sale prices, and a tax of 1 per cent. on advances. Export duty is also charged on all tea sent to Japan and foreign countries. It will have been noticed that the authorities rely not so much on property taxes as upon the income gained from monopolies. Thus out of the ordinary revenue, which in 1903 was estimated at Yen 12,650,695, the camphor, salt and opium monopolies yielded nearly Yen 6,350,000, that is to say, more than half. Such a policy is unavoidable in countries like Formosa, where the trade is not yet fully developed.

In French Indo-China the Government relies chiefly upon monopolies, dividing the revenue into two parts. That derived from indirect taxes is applied to meet the expenses of the Governor-General's Office, while that resulting from direct taxes is used by the local offices. In Tunis the revenue from Government monopolies is 7,800,000 francs, forming one quarter of the whole income, and equalling the amount derived from direct taxes. In Algeria the revenue from monopolies is more than ten times the amount of that derived from direct taxes. Not a few of the British agricultural colonies in the tropics adopt a similar financial policy, but in Singapore and Hong Kong the house tax and land tax are the principal sources of revenue. In Hong Kong all immovable property is inspected and revalued every year, as is done here in Japan with regard to the income tax, and the tax imposed is 13 per cent. of the official valuation. Tonnage dues are also imposed and business licences required. With the revenue thus collected the authorities are able to pay both the principal and interest

of the Public Loan Bonds, leaving a surplus of about \$130,000 each year. In Singapore that part of the city supplied by the waterworks is taxed 12 per cent. of the ground rent, while the outlying portions pay 9 per cent. This system can be adopted in a place like Singapore, where the city forms almost the whole of the colony, but in a tropical agricultural colony like Formosa some other means of obtaining the necessary revenue must be found.

Just as I was correcting the proofs of the foregoing pages, information reached me that the authorities in Formosa had issued a Notification (Law No. 12) stating that the land taxes were to be raised. This change does not apply for the present to either Taito or the Pescadores. The following are the revised rates:—

FORMOSAN REVISED ANNUAL LAND TAX RATES PER KO.
(In Yen.)

	Paddy Fields.	Upland Fields.	Fish Ponds
Class 1 . . .	17.80	13.00	9.30
" 2 . . .	15.60	11.00	7.50
" 3 . . .	12.80	8.60	5.80
" 4 . . .	10.90	7.30	3.30
" 5 . . .	8.60	5.70	2.30
" 6 . . .	7.00	4.60	1.10
" 7 . . .	5.60	3.40	.40
" 8 . . .	4.00	2.60	—
" 9 . . .	3.10	1.60	—
" 10 . . .	1.50	.60	—

From the above table we see that the rates in Formosa are almost equal now to those prevailing in Japan. (Written 28th February, 1905.)

CHAPTER VII.

POLICE ADMINISTRATION.

Development of the police system—The Triple Guard system—Viscount Kodama's wise policy—Police organisation—The multifarious duties of the police—Their superiority over the force in Japan—Their numbers and duties—Remuneration—The village elders and their duties.

I HAVE already, in a preceding chapter, stated that the change from the military to the civil administration should be counted as one of the chief causes which enabled Formosa to rise to her present position, but there is another thing which should not be overlooked in considering the progress of the civil administration, that is the development of the police system. There are two reasons why this should be specially noted, first, because this development was the means of establishing and preserving order, and secondly, because the police as organised in Formosa differ so widely from those in Japan both in their honours and functions.

When we took possession of Formosa, the military men, as is so often the case after a war, held the supreme power and arranged the whole of the administration, leaving no room at all for the civil branch of the service. After a time, military administration passed away and gave place to the civil administration. As the military men had become accustomed to hold the supreme power, it was hard for them to adapt themselves to the change. There were, moreover, 3,000 gendarmes who came between the people and the soldiers, claiming much authority and power. Thus the Formosan people really had three masters at the same time, the military, the gendarmes and the police. Even if these three had all been united and had issued uniform orders, it is doubtful whether those who had so recently come under our authority could have borne

the pressure ; but it was quite impossible for them to do so when, as sometimes happened, these forces came into collision with each other or issued contradictory orders. At such times the people were quite at a loss to know whom to obey, and the whole island was thrown into confusion and perplexity. It would serve no useful purpose to enter in these pages into minute particulars of these misunderstandings, it will be sufficient to say that innumerable mistakes were made. Of course even the authorities themselves were well aware of the serious consequences which arose from the collisions between these three different forces. Governor-General Nogi, perceiving that the three were so often pulling against each other, introduced what was known as "The Triple Guard". Under this plan, the army looked after the brigands in the mountains and ravines, the police were held responsible for those in the villages, while both forces united together to deal with those who infested the intervening districts. Even this arrangement, however, failed to bring the three arms of the service into complete harmony. The special duty of the police is to protect the people. For that reason, the police force should have the opportunity of coming in contact with the people, but unfortunately, the constant interference of the gendarmes and army made this impossible, and the situation became for the police a most painful one. One who was well acquainted with the conditions of that time, said that what with the army on one side and the brigands on the other the police were almost driven distracted, and had no heart or strength left for attending to their proper duties of protecting the people. They had no time to eat or sleep, or even change their clothes, but at the bidding of army officers had to rush here and there at a moment's notice, armed with revolver and sword. They were so worn out that crimes could be committed right under their very noses and the perpetrators escape scot free. Small wonder then that the Formosans felt unable to rely upon them.

Formosa is not the only place in the world where collisions have occurred between the military and the police. Since the Restoration such incidents have taken place more than once in Japan. Indeed, in any country the military men are apt after a war to meddle with police matters and look upon the police as mere tools.

This unsatisfactory state of things continued for a time in Formosa, and then the police resumed their proper authority and the local government regained its vigour. It is perhaps unavoidable that these stages should be passed through; but, if proper advantage be taken of the opportunities offering, the period of confusion may be much shortened. It is very gratifying that Governor-General Viscount Kodama, though he had been regarded as a mere soldier, availed himself of the very earliest opportunity to put an end to the despotic authority of the army. He also reformed the police organisation and the civil administration. The army, the police and the gendarmes were each relegated to their rightful spheres and were not allowed to interfere with one another. Moreover, the gendarmes were reduced in number each year until at last only one-tenth remained. In consequence of these changes, the administrative organisation was much simplified, and the police were enabled to perform their proper duties of protecting the people.

During the military administration the police consisted of men employed by the War Department. In September, 1895, 840 men were employed on probation, 70 as police sergeants and 770 as police. In March, 1896, when the military was replaced by the civil administration, the whole island was divided into three prefectures and three districts, 230 police sergeants and 1,200 police being distributed throughout these six localities. Again, when in June, 1897, the island was re-divided into six prefectures and six districts, the police force was raised to 275 police sergeants and 3,100 police. These changes really had regard only to the number of officials, the institutions and organisation remaining unaltered, and continuing much like the Tokyo Government in those respects. The present institutions are the outcome of indefatigable endeavours on the part of Viscount Kodama to develop the civil administration and reform the police organisation. They are the best suited to the conditions of Formosa, and so similar in nature and organisation to those in Japan that it will be of interest to compare the two.

At present the island is divided into twenty local government districts. Each one of these has an ordinary civil official at its head, under whom there is a General Service Department, a Police Department, and a Taxation Department. Thus the

business of each local government appears to be divided into three departments, but in practice it is not. The General Service Department and the Taxation Department are powerless to carry on their operations without the help of the police, and so the whole administration of the island may be said to be equally divided between the Police Department and the other two departments. At first sight this may seem strange. If the police made it their business only to arrest robbers, guard the roads and so on, it is obvious they ought not to monopolise half the business of the local government. But in such a primitive country as Formosa the civil and the police functions cannot be determined by the standards of civilised States, and the police have to attend to many matters outside their usual sphere, such as making known the laws, supervising the daily life of the people, protecting the camphor workers, attending to irrigation and engineering works, and superintending all other public enterprises and industrial undertakings. With a semi-civilised people, law is a meaningless abstraction which has no hold on them; personal prestige and power are everything. This is the reason why in Formosa the Police Department and the Civil Department have the whole administrative business equally divided between them. The head of each district is really, so to speak, a police sergeant, and the officers under him are all policemen. In name, at least, there is the Governor-General, and the various districts and sections are under him; but, as a matter of fact, the Governor-General only comes in contact with the people through the medium of the police. It is the police who personify the Government, because it is they who do almost everything for the people, attending to taxation, to sanitary matters, and to agricultural administration. The case would be different if Formosa did not require a patriarchal government; but if the government must be patriarchal, the present police system is the one best suited to the requirements of the times. Indeed, some reformers advocate the adoption of the same system in Japan, and say that the police and county offices should be amalgamated, and the heads of the county offices should be the chief of police as in some German States. Others say that the village mayors should have control of the police. These views, or rather shall we say plans, are growing rapidly in favour in Japan.

Thus the police system of Formosa differs from the ordinary system because the police attend to half the business of the civil administration. The special beauty of the Formosan system is that the whole body moves freely at the slightest impulse from headquarters. The police system in Japan has a good name for its first-class organisation, but, as a matter of fact, there is no unity, each part being independent of the other. Even in Tokyo the method of procedure followed in one office is quite different from that which would be adopted in another. The police belonging to one district do not think of arresting criminals in another district; the regulations do not allow them to do so, and police superintendents are very jealous of intrusion on their jurisdiction. So, however thorough the organisation may appear, there is really but little co-operation, each petty division working independently. That is the reason why it is so hard to clear the land of robbers, pick-pockets and other evil-doers, and that they can ply their nefarious trades with impunity all over the country.

The case is quite different in Formosa, because there the Governor-General has unified all the functions of the district police officers. Intelligence is transmitted freely from one part to another, and the relations between the rural offices and the central government resemble those existing between the hands and the brain. By merely touching the electric bell with the tip of his little finger, the Chief of Police can at once collect all the police in the different districts. The Formosan system is quick and active, and its like is to be seen nowhere else. What some European reformers are only beginning to advocate has already been put into practice in Formosa, and in this respect I believe Japan has much to learn from her island colony.

At present there are in Formosa 185 police sergeants, 278 lieutenant sergeants and 3,319 policemen, 47 of whom can serve as interpreters when occasion arises; also a force of gendarmes consisting of 18 non-commissioned and other officers and 213 privates, so that the total force of both branches is only 4,013 men. Comparing these figures with the force employed in 1897, we see that at that time there were 3,408 gendarmes, consisting of 99 officers, 565 non-commissioned

officers and 2,744 privates. In addition to these 3,375 police sergeants and police were employed. Thus the total force then numbered 6,783. The present force is therefore only about half the former, and the gendarmes are less than a tenth as numerous as they were.

This comparatively small body not only protects life and property throughout the island, but also supervises the collection of taxes, sanitation, education, agriculture and so forth. The duties of the police are not so simple as in Japan, for in addition to the duties already mentioned they have in Formosa to see that the opium laws are carried out, to superintend the unpaid Chinese village elders, to give immediate decisions in all cases of crime where the penalty imposed would not exceed imprisonment for three months with hard labour or a fine of Yen 100, to superintend the landing of Chinese immigrants, and particularly where there are no licensed houses of ill-fame, to watch the health of fallen women. In addition to all the above they are also responsible for communications between the savages and the rest of the inhabitants. Considering all these manifold duties we must say that the force is hard worked.

In the capital, Taihoku, there is a training school for policemen and jailers, where the new recruits receive four or five months' training in their duties. The aim of this institution is not merely to give the police that knowledge which is necessary for a right fulfilment of their duties, but also to improve their bearing and character. In this respect, I believe, the Taihoku training school is superior to the one in Tokyo. For, in Tokyo, ordinary students no sooner finish the usual police course than they are provided with sword and uniform and go and stand about the streets, but, as there is no provision whatever for training their characters, those who were sluggards when they entered the school are still sluggards when they leave it, and remain sluggards to the very end of their days. Soldiers do not go into barracks merely to learn how to shoot, but to have their whole characters moulded, and, in the same way, the training school should mould the characters of the police, and the authorities in charge should not rest satisfied with giving them merely an ordinary police training. In Formosa the police after serving one year re-enter the training school for one year to take an advanced course, after finishing

which they become police sergeants. There is also an optional course in the languages of the island, which a large number take, as those who know the vernacular receive special rewards. In this way the Government and the people are brought closer together.

As the authorities take so much pains properly to select and train the policemen they employ, it is satisfactory to know that the general tone and character of the force has much improved compared with what it was a few years ago, and that in consequence the people have learned to rely upon the police for help whenever emergencies arise. If all the police in the island had been trained at the training school the improvement would be still more striking. The authorities have also given much attention to the salary question. Though at present a policeman in Formosa receives just about the same amount as his brother worker in Japan, he has a special extra monthly allowance of Yen 12 to Yen 16, thus receiving on the average about Yen 362 a year, which enables him to live quite comfortably. Those who guard the savage border receive somewhat larger salaries, but it is a thousand pities that, when one is killed by the savages while discharging his duties, his relatives merely receive Yen 20 for funeral expenses and a solatium of Yen 100. It seems to me that they should receive at least as much as the relations of soldiers would under similar circumstances. If, however, the resources of the country will not suffer the authorities to be so liberal, I would suggest that the Formosan Society should hold a great Charity Bazaar in Tokyo and raise a substantial relief fund for this most deserving object.

In addition to the Japanese members of the force, the authorities also employ a number of Formosans as sub-policemen. Their services are of great use, as they are well acquainted with the circumstances and condition of their fellow-countrymen. They number at present 1,398 in all.

Our study of the Formosan Police System would not be complete if we overlooked the Chinese village elder system, an ancient system of self-government which Chinese statesmen for several hundred years have looked upon as the only means for maintaining order and for enabling the people to grow stronger and richer. But though it was thought so highly of, it did not prove satisfactory in Formosa until Viscount Kodama had in-

roduced some important changes. Since then it has proved a very useful factor in preventing offences, detecting crime, collecting taxes, and even assisting greatly in putting down the brigands. It is also due to this system that, though the Formosans are rather heavily taxed, comparatively few fail to pay. It was wise of the Chinese statesmen to pay attention to this system, but they failed to perceive that if it is to work thoroughly well, the Government must be strong enough efficiently to back up the village elders. But under the Chinese, these poor men were like sheep attempting to fight with fierce tigers, and were worsted every time. On them was placed the heavy duty of preventing crimes, but they had no fighting power, and knew it was utterly fruitless to turn for help to the weak and effete Government which pretended to rule the country. But now the system, after being much strengthened, has been adopted in Formosa, and the Formosan Chinese are glad to protect their own houses themselves. This is a material help to the police. Does not this show how firmly the power of our Government is established, and how fully the people themselves recognise the fact?

The present system is founded on the plan set forth several hundred years ago, and has been adapted to suit the present requirements. In normal times, it is the duty of the village elder to maintain the peace of the neighbourhood, to keep a record of the houses and population in his district, to keep track of all new-comers as also of any of his residents who move elsewhere, to reprove unruly and immoral young men, and make the people acquainted with all new laws and regulations that may be made. In time of war, it is their duty to see that their people lend one another mutual support, make ready their guns and spears and swords, and, in short, prepare for every emergency. The regulations in regard to village elders were issued by our authorities in 1898. In accordance with these regulations, the population whether in towns or villages is divided into groups of ten families, and ten of these groups constitute one division. This is the standard, but the number varies according to circumstances. In no case, however, can a group consist of less than five or more than fifteen families, and in the same way a division must be not less than five or more than fifteen groups. Japanese and foreigners are excluded from membership. The village

elder who is at the head of the division is elected by the families composing it, and the same plan is followed with regard to the election of the elder who is at the head of the group. Both these positions are purely honorary, no remuneration being given, and all business is transacted in the elder's own house.

In connection with the above organisations, bands of strong able men, from seventeen to fifty years of age, are gathered from five or six divisions at the rate of ten men from each division. These bands are intended to defend the districts against robbers or savages. The men receive no stated pay for their services, but some localities give something towards their food. In case criminals escape the watchful eyes of the village elder, the people of the group or division are all fined. Accordingly all do their utmost to put down crime, and the hearts of all are greatly strengthened and encouraged. Thus the work of the authorities in putting down the brigands has been greatly facilitated. If, some day in the future, self-government is introduced, I believe it will be found that this village elder system has had no little part in preparing the way for it.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE OPIUM MONOPOLY.

Electric light in Taihoku—The Monopoly Bureau and factory—Scarcity of opium smokers among the workmen—Opium in China—Opium introduced into Formosa—Japanese Government inclined to prohibition—Baron Goto's advice—Monopoly policy adopted—Monopoly regulations—Initial difficulties—Adjusting the manufacture of opium—Gradual growth of State enterprises—England's example—Japan follows suit—The people's attitude towards the opium regulations—Improvement in methods of manufacture—Some figures about opium—Average consumption per head—Table of offenders and those who drop the habit—Reasons for abandoning opium—Evil effects of opium.

ALTHOUGH the general scale of living has improved more rapidly in Japan during the last thirty or forty years than in any other Oriental country, we still have a large number of cities and towns which do not yet enjoy the privilege of being lighted either with gas or electricity. I was much surprised and pleased, therefore, to find all the offices and official residences in Taihoku brilliantly lighted with electricity, and asked one of my friends there how it was an electric light company had been established there so soon. To my amazement he said: "We have no electric light company. The Colonial Government requires steam for the Opium Monopoly factory, and the power not used for that purpose runs an electric light plant and lights the offices and official residences."

The following day I went to the Opium Monopoly Board to see the works. The office is situated outside the southern gate of the old castle. No one is allowed to import it from abroad or to sell opium without special licence from the Board, nor can it be purchased except from licensed dealers. When I visited the office an official showed me both Indian opium, which looks like the fruit of *Trachycarpus Fortunei*, and Persian opium, which resembles a bundle of incense sticks. He ex-

plained to me the special qualities of both varieties. He then took me to the factory, where I saw several Japanese and a large number of Formosan Chinese manufacturing opium paste. Some were crushing the raw material, others were steaming the crushed opium in vats, and others were adding wine and boiling it, others were giving a relish to it as it was passed into pots through pipes. Another group was busily engaged putting the finished opium into tins, while others were pasting on labels. The whole factory was so silent that no sound could be heard except the bubbling of the opium. Noticing that the room was full of a disagreeable smell which reminded me of burning aconite, I thought opium smoke must have a similar odour.

I asked the official who was showing me round whether the workmen, obliged as they were to work so long in such an atmosphere, did not some of them become opium smokers. "Odd as it may seem, it is a fact that there is not a single opium smoker among all our 300 workmen," he replied. I heard later that among the 50,000 Japanese who live in Formosa, only one in the Shinko District, two in the Taito District, and one in the Taihoku District are habitual smokers. There is also one in the Toroku District who is suspected of being an opium smoker. When I heard this I could not help feeling proud of my race.

For a long time the Chinese have suffered terribly from this cursed habit. At first opium was only used as a medicine efficacious against certain diseases, but later on it came to be indulged in as a stimulant, which carried off hundreds and thousands of weak mortals. Thus the proverb that "Evil comes out of good" is true also in regard to opium. Opium is said to have been first brought to China by the Arabs some time in the eighth or ninth century. In a poem composed by Yong Si-tao, who lived about 850 A.D., we find the following verse referring to his ride back over the pass into the province of Szechuan:—

The sight of thee, loved poppy flower,
As down the mountain gorge I ride,
Has banished all my journey's pain.
My thousand miles in sun and rain
Forgotten straight when thee I spied,
Lonely no more since that glad hour.

This shows that the opium poppy must have been cultivated widely even then in the vast plains of Szechuan. At that time the opium was still used only for medical purposes. From the statements of physicians who lived about the middle of the fourteenth century we learn that it was then considered as an efficacious though dangerous medicine. It would seem, therefore, that the pernicious habit of smoking opium commenced to be practised in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, and during the present dynasty it has certainly become much more widespread than ever before.

According to the Chinese Penal Code, the sale of opium is prohibited; those convicted of infraction are liable to wear the cangue for one month and be then sent to serve in the frontier guards. Inducing young men of good families to patronise opium dens is regarded as an offence similar to that of deceiving the people by propagating heretical doctrines; the punishment is 100 lashes and banishment to a lonely place not less than 3,000 li from the capital.

When the people from the maritime provinces of China flocked over to Formosa from the end of the Ming dynasty till the beginning of the present one, many of them took this bad habit of opium smoking along with them. A Formosan History contains the following passage: "It is not known whence opium comes, but it is prepared by boiling in copper vessels. The pipes for smoking it are something like short hollow sticks. At first only the worst young men crowded into the opium dens to enjoy a smoke at night, but latterly the custom has sadly increased. On the tables in the opium dens, cakes and fresh fruit are set out beside the opium, so as to draw in new-comers who are allowed to smoke free of charge at first. As time passes, the smoking becomes a habit which it is almost impossible to shake off. Thus they go regularly to the opium dens, and spend all their property in order to enjoy every night their corrupt pleasure which excites their carnal passions. Though, at first, opium is taken for medical purposes, the habit grows so that it is almost impossible to cast it off. If a single day be missed, it is extraordinary to see how perfectly wretched the opium smoker is; every attitude, every feature of the face, every sentence is a living witness that he is in agony. When the craving is satisfied, he recovers at

once. Those who have contracted this evil habit die within three years. Sad to say there are a great many smokers in Amoy and also in Formosa."

At present, opium seems to be fanatically believed in, for the smoke is often blown in the faces of newly-born children to make them utter their first cry. Before Japan took possession of Formosa, there were eighty-nine natives and foreigners at the various ports who imported this drug. There were also sixty or seventy different medicines containing it which were used as substitutes whenever the supply of the drug ran short. Thus opium became almost the national food, and it is easy to understand how it is that no amount of punishment will stop the evil habit.

When Formosa came into our possession it was so difficult to decide what was the best course to pursue in regard to the opium smoking in the island that many even of our most eminent statesmen were at their wits' end. It was generally believed that the success of our administration in the island depended upon the ability of our authorities to solve this problem. Public opinion at the time showed that there were three great questions before the Formosan authorities, *vis.*: the strict prohibition of opium smoking, the cutting off of the cue which so many of the natives wore, and the doing away with the barbarous custom of binding the feet of the women. A few extreme Radicals insisted that the island was of no use to us unless these three things could all be carried out. To attempt, however, to make a Formosan Chinese give up opium smoking would be like attempting to make him stop eating and drinking. Rather than submit to such an order he would go back to China. But that would mean leaving behind in the island not only his relations and friends, but also his property and means of livelihood. In this the Republican Government and the brigand chiefs found a good opportunity to sow discord between the new Government and the natives by blazing abroad that we, Japanese, had decided to prohibit opium smoking absolutely. If our Government had adopted that policy it would have been like pouring oil upon the flames of suspicion, and the whole island would at once have burst into such a state of conflagration as would have been hard indeed to put out.

At that time a large majority of the officials in the Home

Department of the Formosan Bureau favoured the policy of strict prohibition, and this dangerous policy was about to be adopted by the Government. Fortunately, Baron Goto, who was then the Chief of the Sanitary Bureau, addressed a memorandum to the authorities stating that, in his opinion, the policy of strict prohibition, though very easy to talk about, would be very hard to enforce; not to prohibit opium smoking would be weak, but to attempt to abolish the evil habit at once would be a short-sighted policy. He therefore advised that opium regulations be enacted for the purpose of limiting the use of the drug to those who were already confirmed smokers, and thus preventing as far as possible the further spread of the evil habit. He recommended that the Government should take up the manufacture and import of the drug and only allow Formosan Chinese to sell it, and should also do all in its power, both by education and by police regulations, to put an end to the habit as soon as possible.

Seeing that it would be very hard to prohibit the use of the drug entirely, the authorities, in accordance with Baron Goto's advice, decided to adopt the policy of gradual suppression, and as sanitary adviser to the Governor-General, Baron Goto was directed to settle the opium problem. This action set the minds of the natives at rest, so that unfounded rumours lost their power to excite them. The injury and harm which the brigands did were certainly quite bad enough, but the troubles would most probably have assumed much more formidable proportions had our authorities attempted to stop the use of opium at once. Their conciliatory attitude reassured the people and greatly lessened the Government's difficulties in putting down the brigands. Moreover, opium smoking is being swept away step by step, and thus the object aimed at by the strict prohibitionists is being achieved. It will be seen from the above facts that the opium question constitutes an important chapter in the history of our administration in Formosa.

The opium regulations were issued in January, 1897. The following are the more important clauses, *viz.* :—

Art. 1.—Opium is a monopoly of the Government. No one is allowed either to import or manufacture it. No one who has not received permission from the proper authorities is allowed to sell, buy, deliver, receive or possess opium. All medicines

compounded with opium for the purpose of producing the same effect as opium smoke or opium paste are subject to the same restrictions.

Art. 2.—The Government will grant special licences to habitual smokers so that they may buy and smoke opium.

Art. 3.—Any one who imports, manufactures, sells, gives, exchanges or lends opium shall be liable to imprisonment with hard labour for a term not exceeding five years, or to a fine not exceeding 5,000 yen. Any one who prepares from the opium paste sold by the Government a mixture with something else, or who sells, buys, gives, lends or exchanges such a mixture, shall be liable to imprisonment with hard labour for a term not exceeding three years, or to a fine not exceeding 3,000 yen.

Art. 8.—Any one who cultivates the opium poppy, or is found with capsules in his possession, with the object of manufacturing opium, shall be liable to imprisonment with hard labour for a term not exceeding two years, or to a fine not exceeding 2,000 yen.

Art. 10.—Any one who smokes opium without a licence shall be liable to imprisonment with hard labour for a term not exceeding three years, or to a fine not exceeding 3,000 yen.

Art. 14.—Any one who without a licence lends a room or requisites for smoking opium shall be liable to a fine not exceeding 4,000 yen, or to imprisonment with hard labour for a term not exceeding four years.

In spite of these regulations, as we, Japanese, were new at the business of importing and manufacturing opium, confusion ensued, and we met with repeated failure and found it well-nigh impossible to know how to set to work. In looking back, it is hard to keep from laughing or growing angry. Our engineers had no way but to learn how to manufacture the opium from those Chinese who had been making it up to that time. The opium was boiled over small charcoal stoves in iron kettles, similar to those which the natives use every day in their cooking. It was then cooled by being fanned with ordinary fans. The factory was so small and dirty that it was quite unfit to be an official building of such a great Empire. In 1897, when Marquis Ito came to Taihoku attended by Count Katsura, the newly appointed Governor-General, and by Baron Goto, the Chief of the Sanitary Bureau, he heaved a great sigh on seeing

the opium factory in such a miserable state, and almost thought the enterprise was hopeless.

At that time the Government was guarding the coast very carefully. One day one of the coastguards hurried to the District Office and reported that some one was attempting to smuggle bombs into the island. The officials hastened out to look into the matter, but were greatly amused to find that the so-called bombs were really balls of solid opium.

The method of manufacture is now greatly improved. New machinery has been imported and installed, and the factory is better than the ones to be seen in British India. It was not without reason that the American Government, perplexed as to how best to deal with the opium question in the Philippines, sent commissioners to Formosa for the purpose of investigating the manufacture of opium and also the regulations with regard to its sale and use.

Thus the opium question was successfully disposed of both from the political and sanitary standpoints. It also promises to be a financial success, and shows the wisdom of the policy which directs the modern financial system. Sang Hong-yang of the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206, A.D. 25) said that when the Government engages in business, the profits they make should be sufficient to meet the public expenditure without their also having to resort to taxes. Wang Nang-shi of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 420-478) also stated that the Government should, in his opinion, always keep cereals at a uniform low price by enacting laws compelling the barbarous tribes to assist in their cultivation whenever necessary. But under the pretence that they were adding to the national income both these Chinese statesmen sought to enrich themselves. Repeated instances of this kind have led the Chinese to believe that all undertakings which are said to be Government ones are really simply planned and carried on by avaricious subjects for their own selfish ends. Hand in hand with the European idea of personal freedom and individual respectability, the Chinese consider it wrong for the Government to undertake any business at all. This belief has been strengthened by the fact that the Chinese Government has failed in all the enterprises which it has engaged in during the last thirty or forty years. A glance at the present undertakings of the different powers will however reveal another side

of the question. The excessive development of the idea of personal freedom resulted in constant clashes of individual rights and interests, and conflicts between the rights of the individual and the public interest. Experience of the evils arising out of this led naturally to the merging and combination of individual rights in companies or to their transference to the State. Thus first companies arose, then syndicates, then trusts. Side by side with trusts, municipal concerns were set on foot, and State enterprises also came into existence. In France, the home and birthplace of liberty, the Government monopolises the manufacture and sale both of matches and tobacco. Though in England people prefer rather to leave things to take their own course, the English Government monopolises the growth and manufacture of opium in India, and conducts also a large number of enterprises in her tropical colonies. It is surprising also to see how the towns and cities in the United Kingdom are vying with each other in carrying out large commercial enterprises. Many of the metropolitan and suburban railroads are municipal concerns. Not content with this, the Corporation of Manchester, for example, supplies gas and sells soap, oil, coal-tar, grease and candles which it manufactures as by-products. The Corporation also distributes milk, and in certain cases provides the poor with feeding bottles for their children. Thus the health of the city has improved wonderfully. The example of Manchester has been followed by Liverpool, York and Belfast. Cardiff, so celebrated for its coal mines, is engaged in the fish trade with the object of providing its citizens with cheap and fresh fish, and fish which used to bring 7½d. can now be bought for 5d. Similar municipal undertakings are very numerous, showing that the world to-day has come to recognise the value of such enterprises.

When, under the Formosan Opium Regulations, the manufacture and importing of opium became a Government monopoly, our authorities were merely following the general trend of other nations. The opium income is now one of the principal items in our Formosan revenue, and this monopoly is a forerunner of the new policy that a country's finances should be based upon the monopoly system rather than upon taxation. But our opium enterprise differs from other monopolies in that

our object in enforcing it is not to increase the Government income but to suppress the use of the drug.

Though a few of the Formosans were dissatisfied with the opium regulations, most of the people, who had feared that opium smoking would be prohibited altogether as soon as ever the island passed into our possession, welcomed the regulations with pleasure, perceiving our liberal policy in allowing those unfortunate individuals who were already habitual smokers to continue their vicious indulgence on payment of the licence fee. The price of opium has gone up under the monopoly. The opium smoker has to pay more for it, and, for a time at least, he had the idea that the opium he bought was weaker than before. The former importers who, on account of the monopoly, had lost the opportunity for making large profits, seized upon these two points and, by making the most of them, endeavoured to inflame the minds of the natives and induce them to purchase the opium which they attempted to smuggle into the island. This opium was, however, mostly seized owing to the strict inspection which was maintained, and since 1900 it seems as though our object in assuming control of the trade had begun to be realized.

Between 1898 and 1902 much valuable information was gained by two official deputations which were sent by the Government to India and Persia to investigate the state of the opium market, the methods followed in cultivating the opium poppy and in manufacturing opium. At present, each Cho office has an experimental opium farm, and the Opium Monopoly Bureau is aiming at growing and manufacturing the opium right from the very beginning. As the officials of the Bureau have now had several years' experience, they have become quite expert, and the economical success of the Bureau is now fully assured.

The Bureau pays out about 4,800,000 yen each year for raw material, manufacturing and running expenses. The receipts foot up to 5,800,000 yen, thus leaving a balance of 1,000,000 yen as the Government's yearly profits. Although this gain is not larger than that accruing from some of the other monopolies, it is considerably more than either the Land Tax or the Sugar Consumption Tax produce, seeing that the former amounts to about 860,000 yen, and the latter to 700,000 yen. The opium revenue therefore well deserves to be called one of the island's richest resources. It is indeed very satisfactory that the

monopoly, started as it was, not for the purpose of revenue, but to arrest opium smoking, should produce such large profits merely by the way. The following table shows the weights and value of prepared opium sold by the Government agents to the Formosans during the seven years from 1897 to 1903 inclusive:—

	Weight in Lbs.	Value in Yen.
1897 . . .	194,099	1,631,887
1898 . . .	369,591	3,720,733
1899 . . .	454,453	4,662,603
1900 . . .	438,812	4,616,761
1901 . . .	265,166	3,169,972
1902 . . .	286,318	3,291,106
1903 . . .	320,022	3,922,515

Judging from the amount thus sold, each opium smoker appears to use about thirty-seven grains a day on the average, for which he pays slightly over three half-pence; but, as there is more or less smuggling and also some sold secretly, it is probable that the actual average is slightly higher than is here stated. The natives say that coolies who earn twenty sen (fivepence) a day spend three-fourths of it upon opium, using the rest for the expenses of their families. The consumption varies slightly according to the time of year, being less during April and May than in the preceding three months. The wonderful hold opium acquires may be seen from the fact that so many of the Formosans spend the greater part of their gains in order to gratify this appetite, and also in the fact that, in spite of the severe penalties imposed, the number of convictions for infractions of the Opium Regulations has steadily increased. One reason for this increase is no doubt the ever-increasing vigilance of the police, but even so it is a regrettable fact.

OFFENDERS AGAINST THE OPIUM REGULATIONS.

Year.	Men.	Women.	Total.
1897 . . .	468	27	495
1898 . . .	629	18	647
1899 . . .	571	36	607
1900 . . .	844	44	888
1901 . . .	1,340	71	1,411
1902 . . .	1,950	128	2,078

Owing to the rise in the price of opium and also to the severe punishments meted out to all who are found violating the Opium Regulations, many Formosans have already been impelled to give up this bad habit. Indeed, over 3,000 did so in 1902. This is a most encouraging sign.

Year.	Licensed Smokers.	Deaths of Smokers.	Abandoners.
1897 . . .	50,397	1,181	1,136
1898 . . .	95,449	12,882	890
1899 . . .	130,962	2,765	289
1900 . . .	165,752	7,398	244
1901 . . .	156,266	7,928	721
1902 . . .	163,842	13,940	3,077
1903 . . .	132,903	8,125	1,713

The authorities state that among those who, according to the above table, abandoned the use of the drug in 1901 some continued to use smuggled opium, while others were induced to give up the habit owing to dull trade, the difficulty of making a living, or because of their acceptance of the superstitions propagated by the Hiran Kohitsukwai, a society which originated in the Pescadores. This society taught that a confirmed opium smoker might be cured in a moment by faith in God. Although it is a cause for rejoicing that so many of the Formosans gave up the habit of opium smoking on account of the efforts of this society, the sudden change would have killed most of them but for medical treatment. Though they once stopped smoking, their craving for opium could not be restrained, and, as they believe God will punish them if they smoke again, their only way of obtaining relief is to take morphine or one of the other preparations of opium. I believe, however, that those who gave up the habit in 1902 did so for other reasons than those stated here.

A glance at the table given above will show that the death rate among opium smokers is exceedingly high. All the deaths were not directly due to the drug itself; but it is an undoubted fact that the majority of them were caused indirectly by the physical and cardiac weakness brought on by opium smoking. Thus it is seen how poisonous the drug is. Even if it does not cause death, despondency, dulness and general moral

deterioration are the inevitable results of indulging in opium smoking.

Inasmuch as this vicious habit cannot be stamped out at once, whatever efforts are made to improve the sanitary conditions of the island, the statistics must always show a high death rate among the opium smokers. The authorities have taken steps to prevent the increase of this evil, but it would be impossible for the ablest statesman to lessen the number of the present opium smokers. This can only be achieved by the advance of education and the lapse of time. For Japan's own sake, for the sake of the Formosans themselves, and for the sake of the whole human race, I hope the happy day may speedily come when the last opium smoker shall have disappeared from Formosa.

As I was correcting and examining the manuscript of the foregoing pages, I was informed that the authorities have planned to put in a plant driven by water-power to supply electric light to the whole city of Taihoku and that the work is to be completed by July next. (Written January, 1905.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE SALT MONOPOLY.

The Salt Monopoly and penalties—The Dutch check the manufacture of salt—The growth of the industry under Koxinga, and the Chinese monopoly—The abolition of the monopoly and its results—The Japanese monopoly—Difficulty of fixing the price—Table of prices—Improving the manufacture—Extension of the business—Good seasons—Table of production—Needs of the people—Attempts to enter foreign markets—Salt farms—Possible development—Corea's promising market—Japanese salt supplanted by Formosan.

THE success the authorities had achieved in connection with the Opium Monopoly encouraged them to go a step farther, and undertake the monopoly of salt. Accordingly, in April, 1899, Order No. 7 was issued, by which the salt production in the whole island became a Government monopoly. The Monopoly Regulations are very much the same as those relating to the Opium and Camphor Monopolies, with the exception that the penalties for infringement are limited to fines.

If there is one thing which ought to be a Government monopoly in Formosa, that article is certainly salt. The Dutch, who were the first foreigners to occupy Formosa, exercised a strong civilising and refining influence on the inhabitants, and for this we admire them. We regret, however, to find that to benefit the Dutch East India Company which supplied Formosa with salt from Batavia, they would not allow any salt to be manufactured in the island. Though similar regulations were quite common at that time in the administration of colonies, the Dutch, in forcing the people of Formosa to obtain their supplies of salt from abroad, seem to have followed a very short-sighted and cruel policy.

On the other hand, Koxinga, who wished the island to

become entirely self-supporting, made a special study of the method of producing salt from sea-water by the heat of the sun, and induced his subjects by engaging in this industry to become independent of supplies from abroad. No taxes were placed on salt at this time. This was the commencement of the manufacture of salt in Formosa, and the methods generally employed there to-day are really only a continuance of his system. During the Chinese occupation salt was taxed, but the sale was left in the hands of private merchants until 1727, when all private manufacture was absolutely prohibited. Thereafter there were frequent changes, but the monopoly was continued.

When our Government occupied Formosa, one of the first things the authorities did was to abolish the monopoly, every one being free to manufacture on his own account. This was done in the hope of benefiting the nation, but the results were most disappointing. The business suddenly declined, over half the men engaged in the work being forced to abandon their undertakings. This was due to the fact that the manufacturers, who had been accustomed to sell the whole of their output to the Government for cash, lost their business when the Government stopped buying, and they looked round in vain for fresh customers. Moreover, the large amount of capital which our occupation had brought into the island sent wages up to such an extent that the salt manufacturers found it quite impossible to secure workmen at the ordinary rates. These conditions led to a large increase in the salt imports from abroad. Such being the case, the Government decided to take the manufacture into their own hands.

The large space of ground required for the manufacture of salt proved a certain check to illicit enterprise, and its bulk stood in the way of extensive smuggling, but the point that most troubled the authorities was how to fix the price. As the salt in Formosa is manufactured by the heat of the sun, the cost of production is very small, including only the wages of the workmen, and the interest on the capital invested. Wages varied with the value of silver, and so it came about that as soon as the authorities thought they had arranged a fair price, they found it would not answer. Up to 1902 they were obliged to change the price seven times, but now it is

believed that a satisfactory figure, as shown in the following table, has been arrived at :—

Prices paid by the Government for crude salt per 100 lb. :—

	Sen.
Kelung	40
Tamsui	40
Yushako	40
Koro	40
Rokko	40
Hoteishi	27
Hokumonsho	{ Superior 18½
Tainan	{ Medium 18
	{ Ordinary 13½
Takow	17

The best way of providing salt for the Japanese residents in the island engaged the attention of the authorities for a long time. As the Formosan salt is mixed with earth and is yellowish black in colour, nobody at the first glance would take it for salt. The Japanese, therefore, who had been accustomed to snow-white salt, could not use it at all, so for their use the authorities imported some from Japan. They also made a great effort to improve the appearance of the Formosan product, and they have now succeeded in supplying a better article than that from Japan. In 1902 they gave up importing Japanese salt, and since that date all the inhabitants of the island have been supplied with Formosan salt. There are now three districts where the finest salt is manufactured, the cheapest quality costing 2 yen, and the dearest 3.50 yen. There are also four districts where the commoner qualities are produced, prices varying from Yen 1.77 to Yen 2.67. In order to secure a ready sale for all these various qualities, the Salt Monopoly Bureau opened branch offices at the following places—Yushako, Hoteishi, Hokumonsho, Tainan and Takow, and sub-stations at Onshito, Kakaikanso, Gojoko and Toko.

The Government made further arrangements for the disposal of the salt purchased direct from the manufacturers. They formed all the salt dealers in the island into one company and opened twenty head and seventy-nine branch offices. Fearing that even these might not be sufficient to carry the sale into out-of-the-way places, they appointed a large number of commission agents. In 1902 there were more than 1,000 of these agents, and there is now no difficulty in obtaining salt anywhere in the island.

In the districts where the salt is manufactured, the rainfall is very small, the little there is falling at a regular time during June, July, August and September. Rain at any other time of the year is almost unheard of. In these districts too the wind blows constantly, absorbing all moisture from the air. For the reasons given these regions are well adapted for the manufacture of salt. February, March, April and May are the most favourable months, and are called "The Season of the High Tides," while the period from October to the end of January is called "The Season of Low Tides".

Formosa's salt production is increasing every year, having grown more than fivefold during the six years from 1899 to 1904, a most encouraging result.

PRODUCTION OF SALT IN FORMOSA (IN LB.).

	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Yushako . .	74,196	581,669	957,528	2,731,993	1,286,845	3,270,327
Koro . .	—	—	40,000	140,000	—	—
Rokko . .	—	100,000	7,472,494	10,069,474	4,779,981	11,050,916
Hoteishi . .	6,933,455	14,665,908	18,772,553	26,424,788	17,292,341	28,273,260
Hokumonsbo .	6,675,477	28,704,440	34,067,226	36,948,151	21,277,340	36,937,130
Tainan . .	1,630,958	9,545,923	10,187,115	13,198,169	7,196,557	12,207,462
Takow . .	3,082,419	6,117,601	7,774,171	10,669,610	7,318,263	9,965,150
Total . .	18,396,505	59,715,541	79,271,087	100,182,185	59,151,327	101,704,245
Value—Yen	31,730	122,865	151,597	175,833	95,872	176,781

Thus the manufacture, which was at first started simply with the idea of supplying the people in Formosa, has developed into a large export trade.

After a careful investigation of the conditions of life at home and abroad, the authorities at first considered that each person in Formosa would consume 15 lb. of salt in the year, and that therefore more than 40,000,000 lb. would be required each year for home consumption alone. As a matter of fact, 33,810,529 lb. were required in 1900; 42,858,600 lb. in 1901; 38,219,139 lb. in 1902; 46,626,056 lb. in 1903; and 47,851,137 lb. in 1904. It is quite possible that in 1900 a certain quantity may have been either smuggled into the island or illicitly manufactured, but even so, as the annual amount manufactured openly, and purchased by the Government, now exceeds

100,000,000 lb., a large amount remains over for export after fully satisfying the requirements of the islanders.

Repeated attempts were therefore made to place it on the Japanese and foreign markets, but at first without success, the dirty appearance of the salt being considered a proof of its inferior quality. For a long time the Japanese market remained closed, but at last its true worth was recognised, and it is now generally acknowledged that the superior qualities are far better than the best Japanese product. As a result of this the demand from Japan has rapidly increased, as may be seen from the following table:—

SALT DELIVERED TO CONTRACTORS IN JAPAN.

Year.	Weight in Lb.	Value in Yen.
1900 . . .	17,281,140	113,196
1901 . . .	35,074,057	191,944
1902 . . .	75,848,349	394,600
1903 . . .	36,666,600	81,945
1904 . . .	64,422,800	144,500

It does not, therefore, seem at all impossible that Japan may some day be able to discontinue her present heavy imports of salt from Europe, and use Formosan salt instead.

The salt farms in Formosa at present are of two kinds. The larger consist of land enclosed by embankments which are pierced by ditches to allow the sea-water to enter. These ditches lead to the pond where the water is collected for the purpose of evaporation. The salt left after evaporation is taken to another place, where the process of crystallisation is continued with the heat of the sun. The total area of these farms is about 1,680 acres. The other consists simply of sands which are soaked by the flood tides each month. These farms have a total area of nearly 600 acres, but both in structure and capacity they are far inferior to the former.

It has been calculated that there are still 10,000 acres of Crown land on the coast which could be used for salt farms, and also about 2,000 acres which have already been let out by the Government for that purpose, but on which work has not yet been commenced. If all this land was utilised, six times the present amount could easily be produced, and any excess

after supplying the needs of Japan could be shipped to other countries. There are also nearly 53,000 acres, at present owned by private individuals and utilised for rearing fish, which could be used by the Government. With all this land converted into salt farms, it is quite possible that Formosa may also some day be able to supply most of the salt required in China.

Just as I was about to finish this chapter, word reached me that a new market had been found in Corea. In 1903 attempts to introduce Formosan salt were made by two or three Fusan merchants, who, encouraged by their success, have now formed themselves into a limited company to carry on the trade.

Corea has, I believe, in the past been one of the most promising markets for Japanese salt. In 1900, over sixty vessels loaded with 18,722,254 lb. entered Fusan. But year by year Japanese salt has lost favour with the Coreans owing to its poor quality, and in 1902 the imports fell to 7,113,481 lb. The Coreans are said to dislike it so much, that it is extremely unlikely that it will ever recover its old position, and now Formosan salt is taking its place.

In the end Japanese salt will find its way to other countries, and Corea will be supplied from Formosa. Thus two birds will be killed with one stone.

CHAPTER X.

THE CAMPHOR MONOPOLY.

A prophecy about Japan—The demand for camphor—Camphor supplies in Japan—History of the Formosan camphor industry and trade—Monopolizing the trade—The wily Celestial cheated—The Japanese monopoly—The waste checked—Methods and prices—Output—Selling agents appointed—Prices abroad—Table of receipts and expenditures of the monopoly—Japan's most successful industry—Gain to camphor industry in Japan—Efforts to establish the industry in other lands—Competition by means of artificial camphor—Something about the trees—Opposition of the natives—Wages of workers—The refining process—Formosa's camphor supply.

A FEW years ago, an English gentleman, when discussing the future of trade in the East, said to me: "Rich as her natural resources undoubtedly are, Japan is quite unable to maintain a lasting competition with countries like China and America whose resources are practically inexhaustible. A day will surely come sooner or later when Japan like Germany will have to count chemical products as the most important item in her list of exports. By that time celluloid will be more widely used, and Japan must be prepared to supply the increasing demands of the whole world. If she will devote her energies to this, no other nation can compete with her in this line." I quite failed at the time to understand his meaning; but afterwards when I happened to learn that camphor enters largely into the manufacture of celluloid, I appreciated the full significance of his words. As the production of camphor is practically limited to Japan and Formosa, Japan now controls the camphor supply of the world.

Modern life in Europe and America requires large quantities of camphor, which is almost as indispensable and extensively used as copper. Since an Englishman, Alexander Parkes, found out how to manufacture celluloid from camphor in 1858, the use of that substance has continued to increase. Combs,

tobacco pouches, billiard balls, knife and umbrella handles, and indeed everything which had before been made of ivory, coral or tortoise-shell now came to be made of celluloid. Moreover, camphor is an essential ingredient in the manufacture of smokeless powder—one of the most important materials in modern warfare. The demand for the drug has therefore increased greatly; but it is only produced in Cochin China, Java, South China, Japan and Formosa, and, fortunately for us Japanese, practically the whole of the world's supply comes from the last two countries.

Camphor has been manufactured in Japan for many centuries, but it was not until after the Restoration that it began to be exported abroad, and the production showed any perceptible increase. Shikoku, Kiushiu and other parts of Japan then took up the manufacture, but the manufacturers knew little of the purposes for which the drug was required and merely produced what their foreign customers asked for. The Government showed little interest in the industry, and allowed the workers to fell at random trees several hundred years old. After years of reckless destruction without replanting, it looks as though the Japanese camphor forests could not be counted on to supply the needs of the world.

In Formosa the industry was known three hundred years ago. The method adopted by the Chinese, however, necessitated the destruction of the trees. As these were never replaced, the camphor workers had to go further inland in search of other trees, and this led to conflicts between the savages and the Chinese. The Government then declared a monopoly over camphor, and made it death to cut down a single tree in contravention of the regulations. Under this rigorous law over 200 people were decapitated in the one year 1720.¹ This so enraged the colonists that two years later they broke out into a rebellion, and the capital of the island fell into the hands of Choo Yih-kwei, the rebel leader.

Subsequently, the camphor industry became more prosperous than before, and most of the Chinese who were connected with it made large fortunes. In 1855 an American, W. M. Robinet of Hong Kong, despatched a trading vessel to Takow,

¹ *The Island of Formosa*, by J. W. Davidson.

started the direct export of camphor, and secured large profits. His example had many followers. Keen competition thereupon ensued between the British and American merchants engaged in the trade, and continued until the Chinese authorities granted the monopoly of it to an American firm, Williams, Anthon & Co.

At that time camphor was sold at \$8 per picul. After many vicissitudes the monopoly was later on restored to the Chinese Government, being finally abolished in 1868 in deference to the protest of the British Consul backed up by the British warships bombarding the coast. The abolition of the monopoly caused a rapid decline in prices. During the early part of the year, foreigners were obliged to pay to the holders of the monopoly \$16 per picul for the drug, but immediately on its abolition the price fell to \$7.80 per picul. In 1875 the trade came to a standstill owing to the extraordinary activity of the savages. Numerous savage raids were made on the Chinese woodsmen, and these raids continued until they at last culminated in a great war between the Chinese and the savages. In consequence, in 1885 the export practically ceased, only 400 lb. being shipped that year. The trees which produce camphor are unfortunately in the mountainous districts which are the home of the savages or else upon the borders of the savage territory, so that the camphor can only be obtained when the savages are on good terms with the Chinese, and any outbreak of war between the two peoples stops the supply at once.

When Liu Ming-chuan was appointed Governor of Formosa, the Camphor Monopoly was re-established, Reuter, Bröckelmann & Co. of Hong Kong securing the selling agency. By this time the useful invention of making celluloid from camphor had been made, with the result that the price of the drug rose to \$30 per picul. The system of monopolising the trade, however, met with strong protests from foreign merchants, and was again withdrawn. It was then announced that a tax of \$8 would be imposed on each stove used in the manufacture. In 1893, this tax amounted to \$426,000, but only \$160,000 was reported to the Peking Government, a characteristic instance of the greed and dishonesty of the Chinese officials.

The methods adopted by the Chinese for controlling the

trade varied many times, as related above, but these changes were introduced with no other object than to swell the receipts of the tyrannical Government and satisfy the insatiable mandarins. No attempt was made to improve the quality of the camphor, nor did the Chinese officials concern themselves in any way about the future welfare of the island. Under these circumstances many forests were entirely denuded, and the quality of the camphor produced deteriorated deplorably.

In his most valuable book, *The Island of Formosa*, Mr. J. W. Davidson gives the following amusing story about the manufacture. He says: "Very few are the Formosan Chinese who have seen snow at close quarters. In the winter time the highest peaks are often covered, and the snow on these hills can be seen even from Twatutia, but snow never reaches the plains. On one occasion, however, during the winter of 1892-93, during the coldest weather known in Formosa for many years, a little snow one bitter morning was found for the first time on the hills in the savage district not far from Tokoham. A wily camphor worker saw in this gift from heaven possibilities of a great fortune. He ascended the hills, filled a few baskets, and, returning to his stove, mixed in a sufficient amount of camphor to give an odour to the production, and then started off in a hurry to the nearest village to dispose of the stuff. The camphor merchant looked at the clean, white crystals dumped down on the floor before him, deducted a trifle for water, which, in his wisdom he thought he detected, paid the anxious hill-man, who doubtless claimed a pressing engagement elsewhere which necessitated his prompt departure, and then packed the camphor in a vat that it might drain while he enjoyed the pleasure of an opium pipe. The language which he used on the second inspection of his purchase has not been reported, but it was doubtless loud and voluminous; for it is told that, with the exception of a few catties of camphor at the bottom, and a general appearance of moisture on the sides of the vessel, there was no further trace of the several piculs of glittering crystals for which he had paid a considerable sum of good, hard Mexicans but an hour before."

The above story would show that the workers are not slow to use whatever adulterant they can find. Moreover, the production of camphor being nearly confined to Formosa and

Japan, speculators could easily corner the drug by purchasing all that was on offer in these two countries. Such operations were undertaken more than once. So at length in June, 1898, the Japanese Government promulgated an ordinance declaring camphor a Government monopoly. Their object in doing this was twofold ; first, to improve the quality of the drug, secondly, to prevent as far as possible the fluctuations in the price and thus insure a regular income from the industry. Camphor Offices were established in June, 1899. The following are the more important of the Camphor Regulations :—

Art. 2.—Camphor and camphor oil must be turned over by the manufacturers to the Government, which holds a monopoly of them. With the exception of the camphor and camphor oil sold to the Government, the possession, hypothecation, transfer, or export of all other camphor or camphor oil is prohibited.

Art. 3.—The Government will make payment for camphor or camphor oil delivered to it at a rate to be fixed by the Governor-General.

Art. 4.—Camphor or camphor oil cannot be exported from the island except through the ports named by the Governor-General.

Art. 11.—Persons engaged in the camphor and camphor oil business who add any adulterant to camphor or camphor oil will be fined a sum ranging from 10 to 100 yen, and all camphor and camphor oil found in their possession will be confiscated.

Camphor manufacturers' licences can only be transferred by inheritance. Purchasers of camphor trees from the Government are forbidden to throw away any of the wood before it has been fully utilised for distillation.

One argument for Government interference rests on the fact that the camphor workers, anxious for the maximum of profits, were accustomed to utilise for distillation only the lower ten or fifteen feet of a tree, as that is the part which contains the largest proportion of the drug. The rest of the tree was left to rot, thus wasting vast quantities of wood which might have been made to yield considerable amounts of camphor. The Government also intends to replace the trees destroyed, and thus provide for a permanent supply.

There are at present Camphor Offices at Taihoku, Shinchiku,

Bioritsu, Taichu, Rinkiho and Ratto. These employ seventy-seven officials. Since the Monopoly Regulations were promulgated in 1899, various improvements have been introduced in the process of manufacture. The camphor workers, for instance, are now required to make triangular cross-grain chips, as sufficient of the drug cannot be distilled from chips cut with the grain as the Chinese used to cut them. The authorities have, moreover, discovered new uses for the camphor oil, which formerly was considered almost useless. Thus little labour gives large results, and a trifling expenditure brings large profits. Under the Chinese régime, the camphor manufacturers secured between sixty and ninety yen per picul for the drug, but less than half that amount is now paid them. This low price caused some discontent at first. According to the official notification issued in June, 1899, the prices paid by the Government are as under, *vis.* :—

PRICES PAID BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR CAMPHOR AND
CAMPHOR OIL, PER PICUL (133 Lb.).

Name of Office.	Crystallised Camphor.			Camphor Oil.
	First Grade.	Second Grade.	Third Grade.	
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
Taihoku . . .	30'00	27'00	24'00	15'00
Shinchiku . . .	29'00	26'10	23'50	14'00
Bioritsu . . .	27'00	24'80	22'30	13'80
Taichu . . .	26'00	23'40	21'10	13'00
Rinkiho . . .	22'00	19'80	17'80	11'00
Ratto . . .	27'50	24'80	22'30	13'80

The maximum amounts of camphor and camphor oil which the Government agrees to take annually from the manufacturers, together with the number of trees and stoves required for the production of that amount, are given in the table below. These are the amounts which the Government believes will be sufficient to meet the demand throughout the world without causing a fall in the price.

Name of Office.	Camphor in lb.	Camphor Oil in lb.	No. of Trees	Stoves.
Taihoku	644,604	322,302	2,865	920
Shinchiku	527,403	260,702	2,342	750
Bioritsu	301,490	250,746	2,229	716
Taichu	334,326	167,164	1,486	478
Rinkihō	103,713	51,857	461	148
Ratto	180,000	60,000	800	257
Total	2,091,536	1,112,771	10,183	3,269

In 1904 there were thirty-seven persons in the island holding camphor manufacturers' licences; their stoves numbered 6,802. They produced 3,540,953 lb. of camphor and 2,805,809 lb. of camphor oil, the output of both far exceeding the demand.

On 24th March, 1900, tenders were called for from firms, Japanese and foreign, who were desirous of obtaining the sole selling agency for Formosan camphor. The ordinary plan in such cases is to accept the highest tender, but in this case the authorities, desiring that the business should be conducted upon the cheapest possible basis, chose the lowest. It was feared that if the highest bid was accepted, the quotations for camphor would advance so much that the consumers would be unwilling to pay the increase, and thus an additional stimulus would be given to the invention of a substitute. Moreover, the necessity of interfering with the selling price counselled the appointment of a sole agency. In all, twenty-five tenders were sent in, and Messrs. Samuel, Samuel & Co. were the fortunate recipients.

The prices which are asked for the drug abroad have been announced as follows. For "A" and "B" grade camphor blocks, laid down in London, Hamburg or New York, 107·843 yen and 94·702 yen per picul (133 lb.) respectively (exclusive of import duties, if any), and laid down in Hong Kong, 102·378 yen and 94·323 yen respectively. In 1875 the drug was quoted between \$7 and \$8 per picul; it now sells for nearly a yen per lb. Between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000 lb. are offered for sale each year. What a radical change therefore the industry has undergone.

The following table shows the annual receipts and expenditures of the Formosan Government on account of the camphor industry:—

	Receipts.	Expenditure.	Profit.	Loss.
1899 . . .	917,877	1,218,216	—	300,339
1900 . . .	3,752,268	2,166,062	1,586,206	—
1901 . . .	3,253,392	2,165,937	1,087,455	—
Camphor on hand carried forward to 1902 . . .	—	—	508,180	—
	Yen 8,431,717	Yen 5,550,215	Yen 2,881,502	Yen 300,339

From this industry alone therefore the Government clears an annual profit of between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 yen. During the three years following the enforcement of the monopoly it cleared 2,500,000 yen and secured the exclusive control of the trade. It is no exaggeration therefore to say that this enterprise is the most successful of the Japanese Government monopolies.

It may be interesting to examine in what condition the camphor industry of Japan stood before the establishment of the Formosan monopoly. The average price ruling for Japanese camphor from 1894 to 1898 was 56·18 yen. At the time when the monopoly was established the price ruling was 63 yen, which has now advanced to 93 yen. Thus Japan has herself profited to this extent by the monopoly in Formosa.

Year.	Production in Japan in lb.	Mean price for five years prior to monopoly in Yen.	Mean price after the establi- ment of monopoly in Yen.	Increase in price in Yen.	Profits secured by Japanese merchants through the monopoly.
1899 . . .	865,382	56·18	63·60	7·42	64,202
1900 . . .	1,450,158	—	93·60	37·42	542,605
1901 . . .	1,498,608	—	93·74	37·56	562,892
Total . . .	3,814,148				Yen 1,169,700

As the preceding table shows, Japan has herself profited by no less a sum than 1,160,000 yen during the three years owing to the Formosan Camphor Monopoly.

Prior to the establishment of the present monopoly, all the Formosan camphor was exported abroad through Hong Kong, but it is now shipped either direct or through Japanese ports.

The quotations given on the camphor markets throughout the world are decided at the dictation of a Bureau Director in the Formosan Government.

The high prices reached and the increased demand for camphor during recent years have induced several of the powers to make investigations with the hope of introducing the camphor industry into their own lands. In Italy, South-Eastern France, Madagascar, Brazil, Egypt, Ceylon and the Canary Islands, to say nothing of the United States, the tree has been cultivated with most satisfactory results. In Japan, from thirty to forty years are required before the tree is large enough to yield a profitable return, but it is said that in Italy, a camphor tree, in eight years from the planting of the seed, had attained a height of ninety feet and a circumference of over three feet. A tree planted in New Orleans in 1883 is now (1905) a sturdy fellow over five feet in circumference and forty feet in height. These two cases are undoubtedly exceptional, however, and an American botanical expert, Lyster H. Dewey, states as the results of experiments in America, that an average height of thirty feet, with a circumference of say thirty inches, may be expected in trees ten years from the seed.¹ Camphor trees also abound, it is said, in the central and southern provinces of China, giants twenty to thirty feet in circumference being often met with in Fokien and Kiangsi provinces.

Japan and Formosa cannot claim, therefore, that they are the only lands where camphor is obtained, nor should they rest secure as Britain can with her Cardiff coal. At the same time there is no reason for us to be too pessimistic. The demand for camphor will increase many times over before the production in other lands shows any great increase. The point for us to bear in mind is that our Empire cannot permanently monopolise the industry. Indeed, the increased prices of the drug have already encouraged German chemists to invent artificial camphor which in quality almost rivals the natural product. Its only drawback lies in the great cost of production. While natural camphor sells for 100 yen, it costs 90 yen to manufacture the same quantity of the artificial drug. Thus the latter is unable to drive out the natural product from the world's markets.

¹ *The Island of Formosa*, by J. W. Davidson.

Certainly the Formosan Government showed wonderful foresight when they placed the selling agency as they did in the hands of the English firm who were willing to sell at the lowest possible prices.

The camphor tree attains an enormous height and girth in Formosa, where it is the giant of the forest. Trees are frequently seen with a circumference of twenty-five feet, a few reach even to thirty-six feet, and some have been observed in the island which required a forty-foot line to reach round them. Such a tree would keep a single distillery stove supplied with material for several years, and would yield between 7,000 and 8,000 yen worth of camphor. One tree near Taikokan furnished chips for twenty Chinese stoves and yielded over 6,000 yen worth of camphor, and that when the drug was bringing but fifty-four yen per picul. At the present price, it would have brought over 10,000 yen. Most of the drug is however obtained from trees valued at present at 150 to 270 yen.

As the camphor laurel grows wild in the mountainous districts of Formosa, many people naturally conclude that these trees could easily be chopped up and distilled, but such is not the case. The trees which contain most camphor seem to grow best at elevations not exceeding 4,000 feet; and they flourish best upon the borders of the savage territory, especially in those regions which happen to be inhabited by the fiercest savages.

Valuable presents are at times made to these savages, but nevertheless the camphor workers must always be prepared to defend themselves from sudden attacks. In 1898 the savages attacked the camphor men and others over 300 times, killing or wounding 635 persons. These attacks were most frequent in September, forty-five having occurred in that one month. In truth, the camphor industry has cost an almost incalculable amount of human blood. With the enforcement of the monopoly the Formosan Government, following the example of the Chinese, took measures to place guards along the savage border in order to protect the camphor workers in the forests. Some 1,500 armed natives are now employed as guards, and are classified in three divisions, Aiyu, Keitei and Sotei. These are assisted by fifty Japanese police sergeants and constables.

The annual expenditure for this purpose amounts to over 24,000 yen. There is also a private defence force of volunteers called Aitei. These forces are undoubtedly smaller in number than they ever were during the Chinese régime, but nevertheless the number of those persons who have fallen victims to the ferocity of the savages has greatly decreased in recent years. This improved state of things shows that the savages entertain much less enmity towards us, Japanese, than towards the Formosan Chinese, and is evidence that they find they can place more dependence upon both Japanese officials and private persons than on the Chinese.

The camphor workers are, as stated above, exposed to constant danger, but their profits are large. The Japanese labourers who are employed by these manufacturers usually receive fourteen yen for every picul of camphor produced, and seven yen per picul for the camphor oil. Their average earnings are between twenty-five and thirty yen a month, but some specially successful distillers make as much as forty yen. The Chinese are employed on a totally different basis. Money is advanced to them by the manufacturers for the construction of stoves. Their earnings are slightly less than those of the Japanese workers.

One day I paid a visit to the camphor refinery at Taihoku and saw how the work was carried on. The distilling oven is in the shape of a large iron box. In this a quantity of the crude camphor is placed, and, heat being applied, the fumes pass through a number of pipes and apertures into the crystallisation chamber, where they crystallise as flowers of camphor.

A certain writer told the truth when he said that a few pounds of camphor which looks so like fresh-fallen snow represents many drops of human blood. It ought not to be forgotten that the production of camphor requires more labour and causes a larger effusion of blood than any other of the many Formosan staples. When I asked one of the officials at the camphor refinery whether the forests were not likely to become exhausted by the continual felling of camphor trees at the rate of 10,000 a year, he said with a smile that surveys were not sufficiently complete to afford exact information, but that it was known that the camphor trees covered an area of about 1,500 square miles. Supposing that the depletion of

the forests continues at the same rate as at present, the supply of camphor trees in Formosa will be sufficient to supply the world's requirements for another 100 years to come. In the meanwhile, he added, the new system of afforestation which has been introduced will replace all the trees destroyed. This I was much pleased to hear, and I sincerely hope that the Formosan Government will devote a large portion of its energy to the replanting of these valuable trees.

CHAPTER XI.

MINERALS.

GOLD.—Gold Deposits—Gold working before the Japanese occupation—Table of output.

COAL.—Coal supplies—Destruction of mines and machinery by a Chinese Governor—Present output—Japanese *versus* Chinese miners.

COAL OIL.—Coal oil producing localities—A foreigner's attempt to work the oil—Government experiments.

SULPHUR.—Districts where sulphur is to be found—Table of production.

GOLD.

THE working of minerals in Formosa is in a most undeveloped state, but has a great future before it. Gold is to-day the most promising. Mining operations have already been commenced at Zuiho and Giran near Kelung, as also at Shinsbo and Shukoran on the east coast; but, except at Zuiho, the prospects are not very encouraging.

The method adopted at Zuiho is hand digging, the ore being brought out by a light railway. Two or three years ago the owner of the mine considered it a burden, but now it has become a source of much wealth.

Moreover, the bed of the Kelung River belongs geologically to the Tertian period, while the Taihoku plain which was formed by the lower streams belongs, from the village of Suibenkiaku downwards, to the Quaternian period. Throughout these seventeen miles gold-bearing gravel is deposited over an area of about 984 acres altogether, which is divided into ninety-six mining districts, all of which are now being worked. In addition to these, there are a number of quartz-mining districts in the hills near the river banks which are mostly worked by natives. Their method of digging is very rough and antiquated, but all the same they gain large profits, which are increasing year by year.

In Shukoran, besides the gold mines, gold-bearing gravel

is to be found. This field is so out-of-the-way that it has only been discovered recently, but it is believed that it will hereafter become a large mine of wealth.

There is a tradition that gold mining was commenced in Formosa at the time of the Dutch occupation and that the Japanese then engaged in it; but the truth of this is rather doubtful. On the other hand, it is only recently that the gold-bearing gravel near Zuiho has been discovered. In 1890, when Liu Ming-chuan constructed the line from Kelung to Taihoku, some of the Chinese workmen caught sight of some glittering substance in the gravel which they were digging. When it was found to be really gold, reports spread all over and at last reached China, and it is said that the Chinese flocked to the place in thousands. It will not be surprising if some day when the savage districts come to be opened up, as sensational discoveries of gold are made as were disclosed in the Yukon Mines in Alaska a few years ago. Since 1898 the amount of gold produced has increased every year in a wonderful way, but it is most probable that there is really a much larger production from gravel washing than is shown in the returns.

OUTPUT OF GOLD IN FORMOSA.

Year.	From Mines.			From Gravel.		
	Produced. In ozs.	Weight in ozs.	Sold. Value in yen.	Produced. In ozs.	Weight in ozs.	Sold. Value in yen.
1897				289		
1898	1,329			872		
1899	4,100	3,490	122,310	879		25,769
1900	11,150	11,308	386,558	1,142	1,136	34,997
1901	18,744	18,744	714,165	15,411	15,411	463,531
1902	28,905	28,905	1,086,216	19,427	19,427	600,035
1903	29,614	29,614	1,077,156	9,241	9,241	283,922
1904	48,357	48,357	1,624,860	5,127	5,127	161,661

COAL.

Coal crops out all along a belt extending from Shinten near Taihoku to the neighbourhood of Bioritsu. Deposits are also found in the central and southern parts of the island and also near Taito, but the only deposits which appear likely to prove profitable are those found near Taihoku and Bioritsu.

Both these seams are mostly two or three feet thick, sometimes even as much as four or five feet. The seams never run singly; they always run double and are from forty to fifty feet apart. The Formosan Chinese were the first to excavate the coal, and they persevered in spite of all the officials could do to stop them. At last, in 1874, the Chinese Government itself engaged an English engineer and imported the necessary mining machinery. This was erected at Hatto, and for a time the output from the mines there amounted to 46,000 tons a year.

Early in August, 1884, the difficulties between China and France having reached a crisis, the French fleet arrived at Kelung and bombarded the forts. Liu Ming-chuan, the then Governor of Formosa, fearing the worst and having no intention of presenting the French with a well-equipped mine and a large stock of coal, gave orders that the works should be destroyed, the pits flooded, and the stock of coal set fire to. His orders were carried out without loss of time, and thus was rendered useless a large plant on which much money had been spent and many lives sacrificed.

After the close of the war, new machinery was installed and the mining was resumed, but the annual output was only about half what it had been before. Since Formosa came into our hands all the coal-mining operations have been carried on by private individuals, permits having been granted for working 110 claims with a total area of a little over 5,600 acres. The output in 1899 was 24,074 tons; in 1900, 31,460 tons; and in 1904, over 61,500 tons. Considering the inferior quality of the coal, the expense of working it is so great that, if a little freight be added, it cannot compete with that brought from Japan and China, or even with that which is obtained in the southern part of the island. For this reason the annual exports are very small, amounting to only about 20,000 tons.

It is worthy of note that many Japanese are to be seen engaged in tropical Formosa, not only as mine owners, but also as workers in the mines. In the Gaden Mines at Borio, about three miles from Taihoku, thirty Japanese and sixty Chinese are employed. The Chinese receive 8 sen and the Japanese 9 sen per picul (133 lb.). The Japanese receive higher pay because they are more careful and show greater skill than the Chinese, whose product contains much small

coal and dust. The Chinese miner averages 2,000 lb. a day, while the Japanese average is double that amount. Two Chinese working together can earn 1'20 yen per day, while two Japanese working in the same way will earn 2'70 yen. At the present day when the Chinese coolies are considered to be best fitted for work in tropical countries, we Japanese may gain fresh confidence in our powers of endurance from the example of these miners. We must also remember that these men have no European machinery to help them, but do most of the work by hand. This fact is a striking evidence of the great bodily strength of our labouring classes.

COAL OIL.

Up to the present little has been done to obtain coal oil in Formosa, but to-day the prospects for the future are very bright. According to Government investigations, indications of the presence of petroleum are to be seen along a line extending from Bioritsu to Banshorio. At Shohabo and on the shores of both the Ramasen and Fukuki Rivers at Bioritsu, there is known to be oil, and, if report be true, in some places in the savage district it wells up out of the ground like a hot spring. Moreover, 150 or 160 localities are known where it spouts up out of the ground. For many years Rigyozan was considered to be a volcano, but the real fact appears to be that the flames which have been seen are not volcanic, but natural gases issuing from springs or from crevices along the sides of the mountain, spontaneously ignited, and which had perhaps set fire to the vegetation.

To Mr. John Dodd belongs the credit of having first called attention to the Formosan petroleum deposits. In 1866, seeing some Cantonese collecting oil on the savage border some twenty miles south-east of Koro, he rented the land in that locality and began collecting the oil, but the Chinese mandarins soon expelled him and beheaded the unfortunate Chinaman who owned the land for presuming to lease his ground to a foreigner.

In 1878 the Government engaged two American experts to bore for oil, but their first attempts produced only salt water. More water was encountered at a depth of 100 feet. They persevered, and, at a depth of 380 feet, struck water mixed with oil. The constant falling in of the earth made further

progress very slow, but at last after a month of toil, at a depth of 394 feet, oil was struck, the well was tubed, and pumping apparatus erected. Nearly 2,000 lb. of oil could now be obtained per day, but the Americans, greatly dissatisfied with the treatment they had received from the authorities, left the island and so the work was discontinued. Several years later, some Japanese commenced boring operations at Naisho in Shohabo, but the results have not been satisfactory. On the other hand, the experimental borings in the Bioritsu neighbourhood met with good success, producing as much as 150 gallons per day. I wonder whether this may not be the real beginning of the work of collecting petroleum in Formosa. When the hilly districts are opened up, they may, if the reports referred to above be correct, reveal rich oil stores undreamed of hitherto. One experienced engineer told me that it was really wonderful what rich oil fields existed throughout the whole island. Formosa may some day produce enough oil to supply her own needs and those of Japan, becoming one of the best oil fields in the world.

SULPHUR.

Deposits of this mineral are found throughout a large portion of the island, and the mines have already been worked to a considerable extent. The Daitone Range, the highest peak of which reaches an altitude of over 4,000 feet, is very rich. Indeed, the sulphur mines below the village of Hokuto are all at the foot of this range. Other deposits are found in the island of Kizan off the coast of Giran.

OUTPUT AND EXPORT OF SULPHUR.

Year.	Area of Mines in acres.	Produce in tons.	Exports in tons.	Value in Yen.
1897	56	5	33	1,791
1898	143	81	630	41,117
1899	275	478	268	12,821
1900	206	1,550	372	16,686
1901	240	1,220	816	34,356
1902	222	1,215	1,370	47,023
1903	389	1,273	1,232	50,937
1904	425	2,349	1,556	63,553

It will be noticed that sometimes the export exceeds the amount produced. When this is the case, back stock is drawn upon.

CHAPTER XII.

LAW COURTS—PRISONS—CRIMINALS.

Witnessing a trial—A court museum—Trial of a brigand—A cumbersome system of interpretation—The brigand's courage—Functions of the Court of Appeal—A society for investigating old customs—Need for a specific legal code—Landowners and clear title-deeds—Forgery an easy matter—Japanese law for Japanese offenders—Penalties for brigandage—Judges' difficulties—Law Courts and Registration Offices—Arbitration Court a substitute for the regular courts—Flogging and fines—Taihoku Prison—Satisfactory effects of flogging—Crime amongst women—Increase of crime in the island—Summary of prison reports—Table of prison expenditure.

OF all the Government offices I saw during my tour in Formosa, the law courts impressed me the most favourably. On the morning of 11th June I presented myself at nine o'clock at the Taihoku local court and was allowed to witness the proceedings. My seat on the left of the judge was a little inconvenient for watching the judge's face, but it was the best place from which to watch the faces of the prisoners and their accusers. The prosecutor announced that the two Formosans on trial had been arrested for stealing boots and other articles from a house in Bumbu Street, Taihoku. A Japanese who sat on the judge's left, then translated what the public prosecutor had said into Formosan. The two defendants tried to clear themselves by accusing each other, and all their statements were interpreted for the judge's information. This was done again and again. The defendants said: "We were beaten in the police office, and so had no alternative but to say what we did at the preliminary examination, but we are both quite innocent". At this the judge smiled, and said: "You were overheard discussing what plea you should put in, and what you have just said agrees exactly with what you then said. You are sentenced to receive thirty blows apiece." They were then led away.

Through the kindness of the judge and public procurator I was shown through the storehouse where the instruments taken from criminals are preserved, and saw old brigands' swords, javelins red with rust, and spears six or seven feet long. Seeing these terrible weapons, I could not help thinking what suffering they had inflicted on many of our brave soldiers. What struck me most, however, was that so many shelves were filled with pipes and other smoking apparatus, which had been taken from unlicensed opium smokers.

At ten o'clock I left the local court, and went over to the Court of Appeal, where I met the presiding judge, Mr. S. Suzuki, and asked to be allowed to witness the proceedings. This permission he kindly gave, and a seat was provided for me on the left of the consulting judge. That day a Formosan was being tried for robbery and murder. He and his two sons had joined the brigands, and had plundered and killed or wounded many inoffensive people. The younger son had been killed in a punitive expedition, but the elder escaped, and concealed himself among the law-abiding people. In their search for him, the police came across the father living under a false name, and at once arrested him. When the procurator announced his crime, a Japanese who sat on the judge's left translated the charge into Mandarin. This was further translated into Formosan by a native, who sat just below the Japanese interpreter. When the prisoner had anything to say, the same course was followed for the judge's benefit. When I read in Chinese history that in a certain case nine translations had been required, I began to realize what a vast country China was; and now that with my own eyes I saw the judge and the defendant sitting only one foot apart, yet speaking to each other through two interpreters, I was impressed with the greatness of our empire.

It seemed to me that the employment of two interpreters must render it more difficult to reach a right conclusion, waste a large amount of time, and make the people feel the distance between the judge and themselves, and I wondered why the Court of Appeal did not, like the local court, dispense with the Mandarin interpreter. I asked the authorities about this, but the explanation they gave me only increased my wonder. They said: "If the judge, who is the representative of our

August Emperor, should speak directly to the native interpreter, whom the people have hitherto despised and looked down upon, it would impair his authority, and that is not the way to teach these people to respect the law. Thus the same cumbersome course as was followed during the Chinese occupation is still adhered to, simply because the natives are of opinion that a judge disgraces himself by speaking directly to the native interpreter." In my opinion, however, this system is a weak point in our Formosan administration, for it not only involves a large amount of useless work, but the use of Mandarin in the law courts, and the respect thus shown to that language, is apt to mislead the natives, causing them to cherish a hope of Chinese intervention to the detriment of our authority.

To return to the prisoner at the bar. He showed by his voice how earnestly he was pleading, and his face in his excitement grew redder, making him look as though he were partially intoxicated, yet no one would have thought that he was at all aware that his life would probably be ended in a few days. I spoke of this to the judge, and he told me that the natives are as a rule very courageous, bearing up well even when they find themselves in a critical position. I should much like to know what it is that gives them such courage.

The Court of Appeal in Formosa reviews the decisions arrived at in the lower courts, just as in Japan, but here in Formosa as no appeal is allowed from its decisions, it really unites in itself the functions of both the Appeal and Supreme Courts. At one time there was a Court of Third Instance, but experience showed that two were sufficient. The laws enforced in these courts are founded largely upon those existing in Japan, or upon self-evident legal principles; further, as the customs and manners of the island are so different, it is considered necessary to draft laws taking into account not only these customs and manners, but also the new condition of things.

A committee for the investigation of old customs has been formed in the Governor-General's office, including many learned men, and having as president a distinguished jurist of the Kyoto University. This committee is now busily engaged on the subject, so that it will not be long before a satisfactory canon of law is arrived at.

Until such specific canon has been compiled, there is no alternative but to adopt the laws of Japan, though many exceptions have to be introduced. For instance, since July, 1898, the Civil, Commercial and Criminal Codes, the Laws of Civil and Criminal Procedure, and any supplementary regulations attached to them, have been put in force, but cases in which Chinese and Formosans alone are concerned, more especially criminal cases, are decided in accordance with their customs and usages. Cases relating to the buying and selling of land and buildings are now settled in accordance with the Regulations for the Registration of Land, contained in Ordinance No. 3 issued in 1905. Under this ordinance the registration of rights of ownership, of all rights relating to liens and mortgages, and also of tenants' rights, was made compulsory from July, 1905; otherwise such rights had no binding force.

These personal rights will be respected when the investigation of land, and the adjustment of the Great Rent Rights, shall have been completed. Landowners who can establish a clear title to their property will be better enabled to obtain and circulate capital. Moreover, by Ordinance No. 12 issued in 1903, regulations were drawn up with regard to Public Registration, directing that such registration be dealt with as a Government affair by an acting judge, whereas in Japan such business is attended to by the public registrar. These regulations were made to check the common practice of forgery. The legal documents of the islanders, though drawn up with great care, are very often of little value, owing to the fact that the whole, including all the signatures, is written by a scribe, the actual drawers of the deed simply affixing their seals below their names. Our one regret is that these new regulations are not more widely known, only a few hundred applying each year for registration.

Japanese offenders in Formosa are tried according to the laws of Japan, while in the case of Formosans action is taken according to custom and usage. In order to make the proceedings more uniform, it was in April, 1899, decided that all criminal, civil and commercial cases which concerned Formosans and Chinese only, should be dealt with according to the laws of Criminal and Civil Procedure and the subsidiary laws. Land rights are for the time being dealt with in ac-

cordance with old usage, instead of according to the Rights of Property as mentioned in the second part of the Civil Law of Japan. In some cases they are determined in accordance with the regulations issued by the Governor-General to suit the exigencies of this period of transition.

These regulations of the Governor-General also provide for cases of brigandage, by which offenders, according to the degree of their crime, may be sentenced to penal servitude, imprisonment for life, or death. It is also expressly provided that those who voluntarily confess shall have their punishment reduced, and in some cases altogether remitted.

Thus we see that in the case of Japanese the judge in Formosa must give his decisions strictly in accordance with the law relating to the case, whereas in the case of Formosans and Chinese he must first, like the celebrated Judge Ooka,¹ take into account the customs of the people and weigh all the circumstances of each case, a by no means easy task.

One of the judges said to me one day: "Since I first came here, I have given decisions in a large number of cases; but the more I see of Formosan usages and customs, the more I realize how extremely inappropriate many of my decisions have been, and this grieves me sadly. Oh, how gladly I should welcome a satisfactory code of law for Formosa!" I imagine that our Japanese legal system must be a continual source of annoyance to the Formosans; their confidence, however, in the Formosan law courts is very great, a sufficient proof of the generosity, sympathy and excellence of our new administration. Judging from what I have heard, it seems that the Formosans have hitherto had great faith in the power of bribes. When our Government first opened a court house, some of the plaintiffs endeavoured to bribe the judges, and, when the judge refused their bribes, the actions were immediately withdrawn. They attributed his refusal, not to his honesty and impartiality, but to the fact that he had already received a bribe from the opposite side, and so was bound to give the decision against them. This was a common belief among them; but now our courts have begun to gain credit for honesty and impartiality. Some of the more ignorant and illiterate mistake the lawyers

¹ Judge Ooka has sometimes been called the Japanese Solomon. He died A.D. 1751, aged seventy-five. (TRANSLATOR.)

for lower grade judges, and imagine that their fees are nothing else than bribes. A few natives who can write make it their business to deceive those who are ignorant, spreading the idea that they have power to influence the decisions of the judge by gold, but they keep all the money they receive themselves. Worse than that, an interpreter in one of the law courts received a bribe, and misinterpreted what was said, causing the court so much annoyance that at last he was prosecuted. Generally speaking, however, the people trust the court, and have no suspicions of injustice.

At present local courts are established in three places, Taihoku, Taichu and Tainan, Circuit Courts being held at Shinchiku, Giran and Kagi. Registration offices have also been opened in twenty-one important places. Altogether 29 judges, 13 procurators, 197 clerks and 39 interpreters are employed in the Court of Appeal, one or other of the local courts and Registration Offices.

The Formosans, like the Chinese, being very fond of litigation, to lessen the work of the regular courts it has recently been ordered that all petty cases be settled by arbitration by the local authorities. Though called an Arbitration Court, it is really a kind of public law court. When it was first introduced much anxiety was felt as to how it would be regarded by the natives, but the results have been unexpectedly satisfactory and the people seem to welcome it. Before this change was made, there were on the average about 160 cases a month before the District Court, but afterwards the average fell to about 136.

I have already said that, as the customs and manners of the Formosans are different from those prevailing in Japan, they should have a special code of laws. This need has already been met to some extent by the Governor-General, who, having taken into consideration the systems that were prevailing under the Chinese régime, has regulated the number of blows for certain petty offences. This ordinance was issued in January, 1904, and it was decided that those Formosans and Chinese who would otherwise have been sentenced to terms of less than three months' imprisonment with hard labour, should, according to circumstances, be sentenced to pay a fine or receive a certain number of blows. Corporal punishment

is generally administered to those who have no permanent residence in the island, or who are found to have no means of subsistence. Those who are fined for violating the Police Regulations, as well as those fined less than 100 yen for more serious offences, if unable to pay, are sentenced to an equivalent number of blows. Flogging is, however, only inflicted on Formosan and Chinese men over sixteen and under sixty years of age, and, when administered in lieu of fines, each blow is considered equal to one yen of the fine. This form of punishment has been adopted, it is said, because Formosans and Chinese have such low ideas of living, and so little sense of shame that they do not mind in the least being sent to prison for a time, some of them, indeed, feeling more comfortable there than at home. Their love of money is really so much a part of their nature that a fine or a flogging is said to be more of a punishment to them than imprisonment.

Though I recognise the soundness of these reasons for the most part, I found it difficult to believe that the natives did not mind being imprisoned. One day, however, hearing that a man in the Taihoku Prison was to be flogged, I went to see it done, and was then able to understand the reasonableness of such a punishment. Many people, even in Tokyo, must be surprised, when they find that the Sugamo Prison or the other prisons in Tokyo are such fine, lofty, brick buildings. But in Taihoku the prison is built of stone, which is superior even to brick. It cost 310,000 yen to build, and may be said to have been planned on a more extensive scale than any other building in the city. It covers about fifty acres, and has fifteen or twenty acres of vacant ground round it. There is accommodation for 1,200 prisoners at one time; the building is well lighted, and all the passages and floors are covered with cement, so that not a spot of bare ground is to be seen anywhere. If anything is dropped, the sound reverberates through the building.

I went with the governor into the cell of a prisoner who was under sentence of hard labour, and found everything scrupulously clean. I then visited the well-kept kitchen, and found the food was all being cooked by steam heat. This is the case not only in Taihoku, but also in Tainan. From a

humanitarian standpoint this is quite right; no fault can be found with the prisons in Formosa; and when I considered that a Formosan could live comfortably with his wife and family on 2½d. a day, enjoying an occasional pipe of opium as well, I understood how it was that they did not particularly object to being confined in such a grand building which seemed almost as perfect as it could be. I also understood the reason for substituting flogging for imprisonment in certain cases. On the day I was there, six or seven men were flogged. They were each bound by the hands and body with a narrow leather strap to a short board, and made to bend down with their faces to the ground. The jailer then whipped them on the thighs with a cane round which string was twisted, and their cries of agony could be heard all round.

The results produced by this form of punishment, and also those that were inflicted in virtue of the summary decisions, have been most satisfactory, answering the highest expectations of the authorities. During the year before the introduction of summary decisions, 553 cases on an average were brought before the local courts each month, but subsequently the average fell to 273, showing a decrease of more than 50 per cent. If we compare the statistics before and after the introduction of flogging for petty offences, we find that during the year previous the average daily number of prisoners confined in all the prisons throughout the island was 3,852, but afterwards the daily average fell to 3,271, showing a decrease of 581, or a total decrease for the year of 212,065. Supposing that each criminal cost 13 sen per day, the annual saving thus effected would amount to over 27,500 yen. Further, as forty-eight fewer jailers would be required, the saving of their salaries would amount to more than 15,300 yen. To continue, on account of this change the work of the courts would be decreased, necessitating the employment of fewer judges and procurators, and effecting a great economy in the administration expenses. Japanese politicians should give more attention to this. Strange to say, about the time when the authorities introduced flogging into Formosa, M. Albert, the Danish Minister of Justice, moved that flogging be again resorted to in Denmark for the punishment of robbery and other petty crimes, but the motion caused a split in the

Government, led to the break-up of the Cabinet and the dissolution of the Diet.

I also had an opportunity of inspecting one of the prisons for women, where all the jailers were Japanese women. I saw over twenty of the inmates at work together, among them being five or six Japanese. I left the jail, and as I passed the notice board outside, I saw to my surprise that most of them were felons, undergoing hard labour. The governor explained this, and said: "At present we have over forty convicts here, most of them committed for murder or attempted murder as the outcome of adultery. Loveless marriages founded on buying and selling have led these women to commit these fearful crimes, but may we not say that they are really more sinned against than sinning?"

There are at present prisons in Taihoku, Tainan and Taichu, with branches in Shinchiku, Giran and Kagi. It is a mournful fact that the number of criminals is increasing year by year. Most of the Formosans have been left entirely untrained by their parents and have grown up almost like wild animals, without being taught to obey. But, when they are brought to prison, they learn for the first time in their lives what discipline and order mean. They are taught some useful handiwork, and allowed to communicate with their relatives and friends by post. Since the Japanese occupation, such trades as are required to meet Japanese needs are learned principally in the prisons, and so in a certain sense the prisons in Formosa may be said to be Industrial Training Homes.

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SUMMARY OF PRISON REPORTS, 1897-1904.

Year.	Average Number Imprisoned each Day.	Died of Plague.	Died of other Diseases.	Average Deaths per 1,000.	Escaped.	Killed while attempting to Escape.	Sentences Reduced.	Pardoned.	Released on Bail.	Executed.	Criminals per 1,000 Inhabitants.
1896	683	—	313	458	71	—	—	—	—	—	—
1897	1,438	2	669	465	82	—	—	—	—	8	—
1898	2,122	—	454	214	53	—	2	3	—	80	—
1899	2,330	2	283	121	37	27	—	2	9	676	—
1900	3,009	—	195	65	51	46	—	—	10	881	—
1901	3,509	6	144	43	38	10	1	5	12	1,013	1.23
1902	3,821	—	122	32	21	6	—	4	21	557	1.30
1903	4,048	—	126	31	6	1	1	5	29	125	1.35
1904	3,408	—	98	29	6	—	—	4	27	33	1.12

Note.—Four prisoners who escaped in 1904 were recaptured the same day. The number of criminals per 1,000 of the population given in 1903 is based on the population at the end of 1902, viz., 3,004,751, while the figure for the succeeding year is based on the population at the end of 1903, viz., 3,030,076.

TABLE OF PRISON EXPENDITURE.

Year.	Total Prison Expenses in Yen.	Expenses for Prisoners in Yen.	Estimated amount to be paid to Prisoners as Wages, etc.	Amount actually paid in Yen.	Average Cost per Man per Day in Sen.		Average Number Imprisoned each Day.
					Proportion of Total Expenses.	Proportion of Expenses for Prisoners.	
1897	240,082	59,367	13,099	3,436	41	10.1	1,605
1898	297,608	108,806	13,099	16,743	37.5	13.7	2,173
1899	374,055	134,055	13,099	17,233	41	14.7	2,500
1900	424,736	156,206	16,792	15,437	37.6	13.8	3,087
1901	494,711	178,653	16,490	26,306	38	13.7	3,562
1902	519,873	193,319	16,070	41,152	36.2	13.4	3,936
1903	536,485	194,668	24,760	68,675	37.7	13.6	3,907
1904	491,171	178,054	101,036	92,048	40.6	14.7	3,312

Note.—The reason why the prisoners' wages did not amount in 1904 to as much as was estimated, was because the work of making bricks to build the barracks at Taichu was stopped by order of the Army Department. The numbers given in this table as the average number imprisoned each day vary slightly from the numbers given in the preceding table, the reason being that these two tables are made up on different dates.

CHAPTER XIII.

POPULATION AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ISLAND RESOURCES.

Area and population—Distribution of the population according to districts, towns and professions—Comparison with other countries—Formosa's position in the list—Birth and death rate—Increase very slow—Some reasons for this—The birth rate of other colonies—The most urgent need, the development of the island's agricultural resources—Rice and sugar supplies—Table of wages—Foreign help a necessity—How to obtain it—The Government as a tradesman—As a landlord—Example of the Dutch Government in Java—The Government as a sugar producer—Need for caution—Foreign labour in British colonies—Table showing the benefits of importing foreign labour—The Chinese element in Formosa.

OUR Formosan possessions consist of the main island with its fourteen smaller adjacent islands, together with the Pescadores, which consist of sixty-three other islands. The whole area is about 14,000 square miles. The arable lands amount to over 3,125,000 acres. About 696,000 acres are under cultivation as paddy fields, etc., while the unirrigated farms cover about 640,000 acres, total about 1,336,000 acres, leaving over 1,790,000 acres of good land still untouched. According to investigations made at the end of 1904, the population of these islands was over 3,079,000 persons, of whom 1,430,000 were women, who were then living in 573,038 houses. These figures do not include the garrison.

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POPULATION OF FORMOSA ACCORDING TO CENSUS TAKEN 31ST DECEMBER, 1904.

District.	No. of Houses.	Japanese.	Formosans.	Savages.	Foreigners.	Total.
Taihoku .	53,766	17,479	272,605	—	4,057	294,141
Kelung .	20,647	9,332	103,608	—	554	113,494
Giran .	21,593	1,006	109,043	5,162	—	115,211
Shinko .	8,330	497	44,486	423	—	45,406
Toshien .	31,344	804	198,027	3,451	16	202,298
Shinchiku .	31,064	1,596	169,100	4,373	150	175,219
Bioritsu .	24,892	2,102	143,234	1,911	2	147,249
Taichu .	34,403	3,166	203,384	698	26	207,274
Shoka .	51,120	1,373	278,338	—	5	279,716
Nanto .	14,061	623	70,350	7,883	—	78,856
Toroku .	41,696	1,342	210,129	4,195	7	215,673
Kagi .	38,977	1,572	196,515	1,504	15	199,606
Ensuiko .	52,124	1,076	269,293	—	—	270,369
Tainan .	42,876	5,388	184,445	—	1,058	190,801
Banshorio .	9,802	446	46,842	3,574	—	50,862
Hozan .	34,399	2,264	170,663	—	89	173,016
Ako .	33,485	705	159,561	12,474	27	172,767
Koshun .	4,604	373	18,650	7,212	—	26,235
Taito .	12,486	626	12,301	51,474	3	64,404
Pescadores .	11,369	1,595	55,410	—	—	57,005
Total .	573,038	53,365	2,915,984	104,334	6,009	3,079,692

If we consider the Northern Section as extending from Taihoku to Toshien, the Central Section (with its centre at Taichu) from Shinchiku to Toroku, and the Southern Section from Kagi to Koshun, the population is distributed as follows:—

	No. of Houses.	Japanese.	Formosans.	Savages.	Foreigners.	Total.
Northern .	135,680	29,118	727,769	9,036	4,627	770,550
Central .	197,336	10,202	1,074,535	19,060	190	1,103,987
Southern .	216,267	11,824	1,045,969	24,764	1,189	1,083,746
Taito .	12,486	626	12,301	51,474	3	64,404
Pescadores .	11,369	1,595	55,410	—	—	57,005
Total .	573,038	53,365	2,915,984	104,334	6,009	3,079,692

There are a number of small towns which are agricultural centres. When the means of communication were not so well developed as they are to-day, these towns were each the centre of their respective neighbourhoods, not only commercially, but also socially and politically. Here follows a list of such of these towns as have over 5,000 inhabitants:—

Tainan . . .	49,452	Toko . . .	9,418	Hozan . . .	5,750
Daitotei . . .	41,716	Taihoku . . .	9,032	Toseikaku . . .	5,750
Banko . . .	27,332	Bokuashikiaku . . .	7,060	Ishinai . . .	5,613
Kagi . . .	20,527	Hokko . . .	6,575	Seira . . .	5,369
Rokko . . .	19,805	Taichu . . .	6,423	Shinabo . . .	5,320
Kelung . . .	17,710	Chokatei . . .	6,173	Koroton . . .	5,290
Shinchiku . . .	16,371	Hobe . . .	5,987	Saei . . .	5,150
Shoka . . .	16,321	Anping . . .	5,972	Hokuto . . .	5,098
Giran . . .	15,011				

POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION
(SAVAGES EXCLUDED).

Agriculturists . . .	2,059,795	School teachers . . .	5,803
Manufacturers . . .	90,047	Priests . . .	4,691
Labourers . . .	293,765	Physicians and midwives . . .	9,415
Merchants . . .	232,154	Possessing no regular trade . . .	48,188
Officials . . .	31,394	Miscellaneous . . .	109,935
Fishermen . . .	90,171		

Note.—The families are included in the above figures.

Putting the area of the island at 14,000 square miles, if the population of 3,079,692 were distributed equally, there would be 219 persons to each square mile. For the sake of comparison the following table may be of interest:—

COUNTRIES ARRANGED ACCORDING TO DENSITY OF
POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE.

Belgium . . .	593	Switzerland . . .	208	Spain . . .	91
Shantung (China) . . .	410	Province of Canton . . .	196	Bulgaria . . .	87
Holland . . .	403	France . . .	189	European Russia . . .	51
England . . .	338	Austria-Hungary . . .	181	French Indo-China . . .	48
Annam . . .	328	Chinese Empire . . .	172	Turkey . . .	33
Fokien . . .	306	Denmark . . .	165	Sweden . . .	29
Italy . . .	290	Portugal . . .	140	United States . . .	26
Japan . . .	287	Servia . . .	125	Algeria . . .	25
German Empire . . .	270	Philippines . . .	117	Norway . . .	18
Formosa . . .	219	Greece . . .	97	Cape Colony . . .	7
British India . . .	213				

It will be seen from the above table that Formosa is more densely peopled than any other colony, in fact it ranks between Switzerland and the German Empire, which shows that in this respect it is already fairly well developed. From the industrial point of view, however, the island is still in an infant state, as she can obtain but little help from capital and modern machinery, which have contributed so largely to the success of the colonies belonging to Europe and the United States. For the next fifty or sixty years, at least, Formosa must continue to be an agricultural colony, and the increase of the labouring class is therefore especially desirable.

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If we compare Formosa with Kiushiu, for instance, the area of the two islands is almost exactly the same, but Kiushiu supports a population of 6,500,000 persons, over double that of Formosa. We may hope, therefore, that the population of Formosa will increase to equal that of Kiushiu. Then the island will be self-supporting and a good market for Japanese manufactures. It looks, though, as if it would be a long time before this happy result is reached, for, though Formosa has a fair population already, she has a very low birth rate, and that coupled with her very high death rate gives only a very slight increase each year, as appears from the following table:—

BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN FORMOSA.

Year.	Births.			Deaths.			Difference.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	
1898	17,389	14,299	31,688	11,156	7,927	19,083	+ 12,605
1899	22,145	16,289	38,434	16,046	11,787	27,833	+ 10,601
1900	32,180	25,384	57,564	27,614	21,367	48,981	+ 8,583
1901	33,110	26,310	59,420	33,286	25,720	59,006	+ 414
1902	40,764	34,986	75,750	44,791	31,824	76,615	- 865
1903	41,738	35,510	77,248	45,492	37,076	82,568	- 5,320
1904	52,811	46,584	99,395	51,068	43,568	94,636	+ 4,759

This table shows that the net increase declined till 1903, when the deaths exceeded the births by 5,320, and that during these seven years the population only increased by 30,777, that is to say, by 4,397 persons each year; in other words, the increase was 1·5 per 1,000. The increase in the death rate is partly due to the operations for the sweeping away of the brigands carried out since 1898, in which many adults have been killed. Up to 1903 over 7,500 brigands lost their lives, and during the same period over 2,400 Japanese were killed by them. The majority of these were adult males, and, on this account, the above statistics do not show the increase which it may reasonably be supposed would have taken place under ordinary conditions.

In order to arrive at the true birth and death rate it would be necessary to deduct from the figures given in the above table all the deaths which occurred owing to the troubles with the brigands, and then add to the births the number of children

which these men might have had supposing they had not been killed. This would make the birth rate somewhat higher and the death rate lower; but even so, more than a hundred years must elapse before Formosa can have as large a population as Kiushiu now has.

Another discouraging feature is that the women in Formosa, with the exception of the tea-pickers and the Hakka women, shut themselves up all day in their houses and do not go out and help their husbands in the fields. In this respect, the Kiushiu people have a great advantage, and are able to accomplish far more work than the Formosans. Furthermore, the present inhabitants were not all of them born in Formosa. Their numbers are constantly being recruited by immigrants coming from the mainland of China.

There are few colonies in the world which do not to-day show a larger rate of increase than Formosa. Even in such an unhealthy place as Mauritius, where the death rate is 34 per 1,000, the birth rate is 36, showing an increase of 2 per 1,000. In British Guiana the increase is 1.3 per 1,000. Tasmania, which in 1881 showed only 1.38, had in 1901 advanced to 1.64, while New Zealand had during the same period advanced from .6 to 1.9 per 1,000. Thus Formosa has no reason for boasting in this respect. At the same time we must remember that up to the time of our occupation, the people of the island had no thought at all of sanitary measures, but were wholly at the mercy of climatic epidemics; and, though we have now been in occupation nine years, yet as the first half of that time was taken up in putting down the brigands, only three or four years have really been spent in improving the country. Doubtless, therefore, Formosa will show a much larger rate of increase hereafter.

As a matter of fact, the Japanese authorities have done their utmost to improve the sanitary condition of the island. The cities and larger towns look completely changed on account of the waterworks and drainage arrangements which have been constructed. There are public doctors, medical schools and hospitals, and I would gladly send my children to the island. At the same time it is undeniable that the statistics still show a high death rate, but most of these deaths are those of children under three, or of persons over eighty years

of age. This may be put down to mere ignorance rather than to sickness, to ignorance how to live in such a warm climate. Indeed I was told that children who survive the critical period and live to be three, are usually quite healthy, according to the law of the survival of the fittest. I am not in a position to judge of the correctness of this explanation, but it is clear that a long period must elapse before Formosa is able to supply all the labour she needs. The urgent question to-day is how to cultivate the 1,700,000 acres of arable land which are still untouched, and also to take up other industrial work in connection with farming.

As I mentioned before, Formosa must remain an agricultural colony for a long time. Any industry she begins must be agricultural. The very first step, therefore, for us to take in order to open up her treasure stores, is to transform her plains into rice fields, sugar gardens, and tea plantations. As for this, nothing is required but the expansion of the present agricultural operations; everybody will agree as to its advantages.

To give an instance. The amount of Formosan rice exported to Japan and foreign countries varies from year to year according to the crop, but the average value is about 2,400,000 yen a year. This with an area under rice less than 388,000 acres. Some of the fields give only one crop, though on account of Formosa's special characteristics two crops might be obtained equally well. If, therefore, all the fields were cultivated so as to produce double crops and new rice fields covering an area of 1,212,500 acres were planted, 10,000,000 yen worth of rice could be sent to Japan every year. Japan now imports about 25,000,000 yen worth of rice every year from abroad, but Formosan rice could easily take the place of much of this.

Again, Japan imports every year nearly 134,000 tons of sugar, for which she pays about 20,000,000 yen. In 1902, Formosa exported over 1,000,000 yen worth of sugar to foreign countries and also over 3,000,000 yen worth to Japan. If 485,000 acres of land were devoted to sugar, thus making the sugar plantations six times their present area, then Japan could obtain her whole sugar supply from Formosa, and the decision of the Brussels Sugar Conference would make no difference to us. Formosa is so fertile and has so much land still uncultivated, that she might easily become a great support to Japan

were it not for her scanty population. Thus we see that, though in some ways she appears to be well peopled, she is as a matter of fact very badly off in this respect.

Wages always rise in sparsely peopled countries where there is abundance of land and work. Before Japan occupied Formosa, a coolie received from thirteen to twenty sen a day, but now these wages have more than doubled. The following table will be of interest in this connection:—

WAGES OF WORKERS IN FORMOSA (IN JAPANESE CURRENCY)

	Japanese.	Formosa.
Carpenters and joiners	1'30 per day	'70 per day
Masons and brickmakers	1'80 "	'70 "
Tub-makers	1'00 "	'60 "
Boat-builders	1'30 "	'70 "
Blacksmiths	2'00 "	'80 "
Engravers on stone, etc.	1'30 "	'70 "
Farm women	—	'225 "
Harvesters	—	'52 "
Day labourers	'80	'35 "
Women hired by the month	6'00 per month	3'00 per month
Tailors	35'00 "	20'00 "

These are not low rates for an agricultural colony. However enterprising and however willing the people of Japan may be to invest their capital in Formosa, they cannot do so as long as the wages are so high. Not once only, but again and again, have I heard capitalists in Tokyo refuse on this ground alone to listen to anybody from Formosa who tried to persuade them to invest their capital in the island and engage in farming upon a large scale, and I think they are perfectly right in doing so. This shows that the only way the island can be opened up is by importing foreign labour.

Fortunately men can be hired very cheaply in China, just across the Formosan Strait. It is calculated that in the province of Kiangsi there are 306 persons to the square mile, in Fokien 306, in Canton 196, and in Shantung 410. It is also said that the corruption of the Government and the difficulty of making a living drive the people to emigrate in yearly increasing numbers. For the sake of making money, they are ready to go anywhere, to face any danger. If therefore Formosa opens the door and shows her readiness to receive

them and give them work, they will come across in flocks, and, by lowering the rates of wages, relieve the present situation and greatly facilitate the work of opening up the country. For if they go abroad at all, it is a very easy matter for them to go to Formosa, because the island is so near and the language and customs are the same as their own.

The great question is how to invite them. Many people say: "Oh, let some capitalist in Japan invest his capital in the island, and emigration companies will spring up at once and furnish him with all the labour he requires". Those who say so, however, omit to take into consideration the fact that our Tokyo and Osaka capitalists, while sitting quietly at home, not only can easily secure a profit of over 15 per cent., but also enjoy great social influence and consideration. How then could they be induced to send their capital over to Formosa except at an altogether prohibitive rate of interest? For this reason I would like to see the Governor-General carry out the policy of State monopolies to the fullest extent, as has been done in Java, where the Government, as a large landowner, has opened up the country upon an extensive scale. If this policy were adopted in Formosa, the Governor-General could easily summon emigrants from beyond the sea and make them his tenants.

It is true that it was for a long time an accepted principle among the statesmen of the world, that the office of a Government is to superintend the people in all their social relations, without encumbering itself with industrial enterprises; but in modern times with the rise and rapid development of industrial competition between nations, that theory has become untenable, absolute individualism has lost its ground in industry, and great industries tend more and more to pass under the control of corporations and trusts national in their extent, or to become municipal or Government monopolies. When our authorities monopolised the tobacco industry in Japan, and camphor, opium and salt in Formosa, everybody was quite taken aback; but nowadays hardly any one would think such an act at all strange. I should not wonder, indeed, if, in a few years, the municipalities of Tokyo or Osaka should engage, like some of their English sister corporations, in industrial production and distribution, and supply milk or gas, or perhaps

sell rice and charcoal, thus assisting the people to live cheaply and comfortably.

The Formosan Government monopolies have been so successful that no one ever hears any criticism of the system, and people now quite approve of the Government engaging in business. Any manufacturing or farming enterprise giving employment to a large number of workers would secure quite as warm approval as the salt or camphor business.

I myself can see no reason why the Formosan Government should not lease out the Crown lands to tenants willing and able to cultivate them. There would be nothing new in that. The system was introduced into the island by Koxinga, and when the island fell into the hands of the Chinese, was adopted and extended by them. There are still numbers of farms which since then are Government property, and the tenants of which pay the Government rent for them as well as taxes. In addition to these, the Government possesses immense tracts of mountains, forests and virgin arable land. I hope this great landowner will take all the necessary steps and invite labourers to come over from the Chinese mainland for the purpose of opening up the yet uncultivated portions of the island. The policy followed by the Dutch Government in Java is well worth our attention. The land in that island was the property of tribal chiefs, the tillers of the soil, as in the Loochoos, being only life tenants. The crop from a part of each farm was the farmer's remuneration; that from the rest went to the priests and the tribal chief. In 1803, the Dutch Governor-General, Dendel, availing himself of this custom, substituted Government ownership for that of the chiefs. The number of farmers in each village was fixed, new cultures and methods of irrigation were introduced, and the products to be raised by each village were determined. If coffee, for instance, was to be planted, the number of berries to be planted each year was settled. These rules are strictly adhered to in order to prevent over-production and a consequent fall in prices. This is the way Java has managed to obtain such splendid sugar plantations as are to be found nowhere else in the world. Other good results were that in the course of forty-five years, from 1831 to 1875, the Dutch authorities managed to save 700,000,000 florins; crime also decreased so greatly that it was only found

necessary to open the court-house for thirty days a year. During that period the population rose from 6,000,000 to 11,000,000, and the produce of the taxes from 3.32 yen to 8.24 yen per head. But on account of the arrogance of the powerful, and through the Home Government's undue interference, this admirable policy has been overthrown, and the industries have in consequence suffered severely.

I am far from suggesting the adoption of a similar policy in Formosa, as I know some reasons which would make it quite out of the question there. But I believe that the policy of bringing over labourers from the mainland of China to cultivate the Crown lands would be most wise, and would materially further the industrial development of the island. The benefits to be derived from the Government itself engaging in agriculture and opening up the country are manifold. Not only would the hitherto uncultivated land be utilised, but the authorities could see that it be put to the best possible use by selecting the products best suited to the country and people. In that way alone is it possible to get over the difficulties arising from the ignorance of the islanders and their lack of capital. The purpose of our Formosan authorities is, it seems to me, to concentrate their energies on the development of the sugar industry, and to make it the main industry in the island. They have done their utmost to encourage it. According to Ordinance No. 5, issued in June, 1902, the regulations for encouraging sugar manufacturing in Formosa provide, that any competent person wishing to cultivate or manufacture sugar may receive Government aid towards the purchase of sugar sprouts, fertilisers and other necessities, in addition to the ploughing and irrigation expenses. The Crown lands can moreover be leased to him without rent, and if he shows himself successful, the right of cultivating the land permanently may be granted to him. In general, the Formosan Chinese cannot avail themselves of these privileges, because of their ignorance and lack of means. That is why sugar planting has not yet made much progress. If, however, the Government planted some of its own land and proved that sugar growing is remunerative, sugar manufacturing companies would spring up, and it would be unnecessary for the Government to give further instruction or encouragement.

The same result might be attained more rapidly, perhaps, by giving foreign capitalists a free hand. But they would certainly not invest in the industry the necessary amount, unless the Government give them sufficient inducement and security in the shape of large land concessions. That, however, would necessitate the expropriation of private owners. Furthermore, nobody but the Government will go to the expense of draining or irrigating land. For this reason, too, it seems very desirable that it should own the land itself. The particular method to be adopted must, however, be decided as opportunities arise, but I incline to think it would be wise for our authorities to secure the services of some contractors as Holland does in Java. I have spoken of sugar, but the same thing holds true also in regard to rice and tea. The necessary funds would have to be obtained by resorting to a Public Loan, but I believe that once the authorities have fully decided to enter upon the work, there will be no difficulty in raising the required capital.

Plant life thrives in the tropics, and in the same way the inhabitants are usually very prolific; but, for some yet unexplained reason, tropical colonies nearly always have to import outside labour. This is true in regard to the following British Colonies, *viz.*: British Guiana, Trinidad, Mauritius, Fiji, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Borneo, Natal, Transvaal, Sarawak, Sumatra, Queensland; also in such French Colonies as Indo-China, Algeria, French Central Africa, French Guiana and New Caledonia; also in Hawai. The tropical colonies which do not import labour from abroad are Java, Porto Rico, Cuba and India. It is a striking fact that those colonies which import outside labour prosper rapidly in trade, while those which do not do so, make but little advance. The superiority of the labour importing colonies will be seen at once from the following table which shows the yen value *per capita* of the exports.

COMPARISON OF EXPORTS FROM LABOUR IMPORTING AND
NON-IMPORTING COUNTRIES.

Labour Importing Countries.		Non-importing Countries.	
Hawai	260	Barbados	47'50
Queensland	180	Porto Rico	17'50
Malaysia	85	Venezuela	17'50
Trinidad	85	Brazil	15'00
Mauritius	80	Guatemala	7'50
British Guiana	60	Java	5'00
Fiji Islands	45	Siam	5'00

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The proposal to invite Chinese over to Formosa may be criticised on the ground that it will make the island altogether too Chinese, but that is to overlook the fact that nearly all the present inhabitants are Chinese immigrants from the mainland. The mere increase of their number from 3,000,000 to say 6,000,000 or even to 8,000,000, will make very little difference in the general make-up of the Formosan national character. We must be satisfied with protecting them in their social state, and directing their political and industrial activities into the proper channels. Any attempt to force our customs and social institutions upon them and to mould them on the Japanese model, will only imperil our policy of colonizing the island without achieving any good result. We have still a large amount to accomplish both in the north and west, and if we attempt to undertake too much we shall accomplish nothing. Mr. Charles Bell, a member of the French Colonial group, said in his book on the colony of Indo-China in reference to the Hong Kong administration, "The success which the British have achieved in Hong Kong is chiefly due to the co-operation of the Chinese, that is to say of the Chinese merchants, compradores and coolies, not to that of the Chinese authorities, whose approval or disapproval counts for very little. But for the co-operation of the three classes of people here mentioned, the English could not have achieved such noteworthy success."

We should not forget that the secret of success in tropical colonization especially lies in winning the confidence of the natives by a liberal and wise administration and securing their loyal co-operation, as England has done in Hong Kong.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SAVAGES AND THEIR TERRITORY.

The urgency of the savage problem—What has been accomplished—Origin of the artificial boundaries—Savages in possession of a large part of the island—Defensive forces and their origin—Their spheres of action and organisation—The hardships of their life—Cutting off the savages' supply of firearms—Its satisfactory result—Failure of military expeditions—The present policy—The link between the various savage groups—Conjectures about their origin—Investigations and conclusions—The savage groups; location, culture, customs and manners: Atayal, Vonum, Tsou, Tsalisen, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami and Pepo—Houses and people in each group—Degeneration of savages under the Chinese régime—Number of people killed by savages since 1900—Wonderful change in savage girls taken to Osaka Exhibition—Savages quite capable of being civilised—The Chartered Company system the best to open up the savage territory—Advantages of this plan—Qualifications required for the task.

WHILE recognising how much the Formosan authorities have already accomplished, I cannot help regretting that the problem of the savages has not yet been fully solved. This may in some measure be accounted for by the fact that, since the island passed into our possession, only a little more than six years has elapsed, and that during the greater part of that time the attention of the authorities has been almost entirely absorbed in the suppression of the brigands. But, considered from the standpoint of our political life, six years cannot be called very short. In any case, I am convinced that it is now high time for this problem to be taken in hand in earnest. As I write this, Baron Goto, the Chief of the Civil Administration, is said to be on the point of finishing his very extensive tour of inspection through the savage districts both in the north and the south, having travelled about five hundred miles altogether and left only forty miles unvisited. I hope this tour of the Baron's may prove the means of accelerating the solution of this problem.

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I do not mean to insinuate for a moment that the authorities have given no thought to the savages; on the contrary, they have established a committee for exploring the Savage Territory, and have also opened a temporary bureau for attending to all matters connected with them. As a general rule, the policy of suppression is pursued towards such fierce tattooed savages as those belonging to the Atayal tribe.

With the other more numerous and less barbarous savages, more lenient methods are followed, which met with a measure of success even during the time of general disturbance on account of the brigands. Thirty or forty members of these tribes graduated from the School for Languages, and afterwards took the Normal Course in the same school, corresponding to the Normal School course in Japan. Others became sub-police-men. The mental condition of these savages has undergone a remarkable transformation. The human skulls which they were accustomed to use to adorn their abodes have been removed and monkey skulls put up instead. Some, with the permission of the authorities, are endeavouring to make a living by felling the trees, which grow so luxuriantly on the land which they claim as their own property. Many of them know the use, and have learned to appreciate, the value of silver coins as a medium of exchange, so that now in many of their villages Japanese travellers can, if they wish, have their money changed.

In February, 1900, the authorities promulgated Law No. 7. This law states that nobody except savages may, under any pretext whatever, occupy or use any portion of the Savage Territory, nor lay any claim whatever to it. But, at the same time, it is provided that the aforesaid prohibition does not apply to cases specially provided for otherwise, nor to those persons who have received special permission. Any violation of this order renders the offender liable to a fine of not less than 100 yen and to imprisonment with hard labour for not more than six months.

In September, 1896, Ordinance No. 30 was issued providing that all persons wishing to enter the Savage Border, except those who do so for business purposes with the permission of the district authorities, shall first obtain permission from the Chief of the Pacification Office. To this ordinance also pecuniary and corporeal punishments are appended.

The term "Savage Border" as used in the above ordinance is very vague and indefinite; but it includes those localities which serve as connecting links between the level lands and the mountains, and roughly follows the line of the Earthen Bulls or Embankments which were established by the Chinese.

In 1722, the Chinese Governor of the island, wishing to establish a clear and distinct boundary between the lands of his countrymen and those belonging to the savages, constructed an embankment along the alleged frontier, and ordered his countrymen not to go beyond it. He thus hoped to put an end to the complications and fighting which up till that time had been almost continuous between the two races. At that time, the savages were considered as outside the pale of civilisation, and the policy the Chinese adopted towards them may be summed up in the words, "Govern them by leaving them strictly alone".

Hitherto our authorities have adopted very much the same policy; but now that order has been established and peace restored, the economic development of the island cannot be stopped for ever on account of a few thousand savages. One glance at the map will show the urgent necessity there is at this juncture to cultivate the savage districts. The entire area of Formosa is estimated at about 14,000 square miles, of which nearly half is still in the hands of the savages, outside the reach of our Government. According to the official survey, land in Formosa at less than 1,500 feet above the sea level is covered with grass and has few if any trees, while that above 1,500 and below 3,500 feet is clothed with dense forests teeming with large and valuable trees, among which camphor trees may be specially mentioned. This timber belt covers about 5,230,000 acres. It is supposed also to be rich in deposits of gold, iron and kerosene oil. But, at present, it is occupied only by the savages, and only the agricultural resources of the coast plains are exploited. In my opinion, the golden key to the exhaustless wealth of the island will only be obtained by opening up the savage districts.

In the chapter on the Camphor Monopoly, I had occasion to mention the fact that the Government had organised guards to protect the camphor workers from the attacks of the savages. These guards are posted along the whole length of the savage





GUARD HOUSE AT KYUKYWIEN, SHINCHIKU.

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GROUP OF ATAYAL SAVAGES AT SHINKO.

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frontier. In the neighbourhood of Taihoku, the line starts from the village of Keibi and runs through Shinchiku and Bioritsu to Shushuho near Nanto. In the early part of the eighteenth century, when the Chinese authorities had put down the ordinary insurrections, the savages gave so much trouble that the Chinese immigrants were kept in constant fear of their lives. Some fifty or sixty years later, guard-houses were established at important points in mountain passes. At that time, two persons named Kiong Kim and Kong Hok in the Taichu district, and a certain man named Kok Tsun in Chikuho, Hokuho, Tokanho and Kaizanho, at the head of forces collected and armed at their own expense, fought against the savages and succeeded in driving them far into the mountains. In recognition of this meritorious action, the authorities granted them the lands which they had wrested from the savages. This was the origin of the guards. These were at first a sort of military colonists; but afterwards mercenary soldiers were employed. In later years, however, neither the guards nor the officials kept to their agreements and discipline became lax until, at last, the guards were only an empty name. In the Budget each year a special item appeared for their maintenance, but, in reality, there were no guards at all. At the time of our occupation the whole line was non-existent except in a certain portion of Taichu prefecture. Our authorities have now revived and improved this ancient institution, hoping by this means to guarantee peace and order.

The guard lines which commence in the neighbourhood of Taihoku are as under :—

1. The Shinko line runs from Keibi-sokutsu through Raikoha, Sokeiko, Kokutsu and Jinhatsushi to Okei.
2. A second line starts from Sankakuyu and passing through Jushichiryo and Jusanten reaches the vicinity of Mount Shokumen.
3. Another runs from Taikokan and Suikeito to Juryo through Kimpeisha, Haburansha, Rahausha, Keikisha, Abohei and Kyusekimon.
4. A fourth runs through Tainan (near Shinchiku), Hakketo, Taitosei and Shotosei to Shirisho.

In the Taichu District the lines run as under :—

1. One line begins at the village of Kyoto in the upper

course of the Kyarakoku River in Bioritsu and runs southwards through Nanshokusuizannai and Naiwanshoto to Borihei.

2. A second line serves as a bulwark in the neighbourhood of Toseikaku.

3. A third line, which defends the Nanto neighbourhood, runs near Shushuho and Jukisho.

The above guards are supplemented by others which are organised and maintained by the camphor manufacturers. Thus the whole length of the guard line, which during the Chinese administration only measured about fifty miles, and in 1896 only 100 miles, now stretches over 300 miles. Now the whole of the Savage Border is guarded both in the north and the south by military police, and all communication with the savages is strictly watched.

At intervals of about half a mile or so, the line is strengthened by guard-houses, built strongly enough to withstand the savages' attacks and defended with a strong rampart. Two or three guards live in each house, so that there are altogether 838 guards always on duty. These are all Formosan natives. There is besides, one superintendent's station to every four or five guard-houses, each in charge of a policeman who lives there with his family. These stations now number 184 in all. Then again four or five of these superintendents' stations are entrusted to the supervision of a police sergeant or sub-police sergeant, who in his turn is under the control of the local governor. The Government guards consist of 2 police sergeants, 15 sub-police sergeants, 175 policemen, 51 native sub-police, and 2,620 guards. If we add to these figures the number of the private guards, the grand total of all the force is 3,100 men.

Guns are mounted at important points along the line, and sentinels patrol the space between the guard-houses with rifles, and challenge all savages who come anywhere near the line. Even those savages who have permission to travel and communicate freely, are not allowed to approach the lines except at certain fixed points. The sentinels have full permission to use their rifles whenever their challenge is disregarded. The superintendents' houses are connected with each other by means of alarms, and every morning the inmates inquire whether anything has happened during the night. In this



EXPLORING PARTY ON MOUNT ARI IN THE SAVAGE DISTRICT.

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CAMPBOR STILL NEAR GIRAN.

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way, the guards are also enabled to summon assistance in case of need.

The hardships and privations which these guards are subjected to, should claim for them our heartfelt sympathy. The superintendents' stations are all situated in lonely places far from all human society, sometimes indeed in the depths of mountains, or in the middle of dense forests of ancient trees of enormous size and height. Here these superintendents pick up a hard-earned and extremely precarious livelihood. They cannot even go to the spring in security to draw water, death staring them ever in the face at the hands of the fierce savages, who may be lurking in the bushes. On such occasions, the wife takes a bucket in one hand and a rifle in the other, and sets out followed by the husband with his rifle ready loaded and cocked, and at the close of each day which passes without accident, as also each morning, they congratulate each other that they are still alive. Baron Goto made an extended tour recently far beyond the guard lines, penetrating with his staff deep into the savage districts. This tour was the first of the kind to be undertaken since our occupation of the island, and all the residents welcomed him warmly, but perhaps those who welcomed him most warmly were those police who were on guard in these superintendents' houses. To receive a visit from the Baron, while they were living there in the midst of so much danger, seemed to these solitary couples as if they were favoured with a heavenly visitant. In the course of conversation afterwards, Baron Goto said that he had himself been moved to tears when he saw how they were circumstanced. Such a state of life may indeed be likened to the solitary life led by those unfortunates in China, who in olden times were assigned to the garrisons far beyond the Great Wall, where they had ever to be on their guard against the ravages of the furious Huns, a constant menace for so many years to the peace and tranquillity of the Middle Kingdom. The hardships they suffered and their lonely existence were a favourite theme with Chinese poets, who loved to descant upon the hard fate of these guardians of the public peace. The life of the Formosan guards is well worthy of being sung by our poets, and would furnish them with many a touching incident.

Those traders only who are officially permitted to do so,

can go beyond the guard lines and barter with the savages, but they are strictly enjoined not to furnish either arms or ammunition. Consequently the mountain savages are now entirely cut off from their supply of these articles, except through occasional smuggling. Thus they have been, so to speak, shorn of their power of evil. This has been a hard blow to them, so much so, indeed, that some of them have come and entreated our officials to supply them with arms and ammunition, promising that in future they would under no circumstances whatever use them against any human being, and pleading that without these they would be deprived of the greatest pleasure they had in life, bear hunting and fowl shooting. To all their entreaties our officials turned a deaf ear, saying that all hunting was contrary to the principles of humanity, and the savages should, therefore, turn their attention instead to tilling the land and growing corn and potatoes. In this way the Government hopes to reduce them to impotence and force them to take up gentler ways of living.

This is doubtless a very sound and necessary policy to adopt towards them; indeed, it is already beginning to bear good fruit. Recently a body of savages in Toshien and Shinko Districts came to our officials and requested to be allowed to surrender, pledging themselves never more to inflict injury upon the peaceful inhabitants of the district. This they did, because their supply of fire-arms, ammunition and salt was so reduced as to endanger their very existence. In spite of stringent prohibitions, a highly remunerative trade in these articles had been carried on across the border, the savages living near the line reselling them to those living further inland at exorbitant prices, obtaining in some cases as much as one yen for three cartridges. But now it seems as if even this roundabout way of traffic has been stopped, and the savages, in consequence, have no other alternative but to surrender and ask for mercy at our hands. The Imperial Government will not accept their surrender hastily. They must first prove their sincerity, and then the authorities will make minute investigations as to how many savages there are, and only sell them the exact amount of salt which is decided upon as necessary for their use. In this way the authorities will also obtain accurate knowledge of the geographical features of the Savage Territory, which will stand them in good stead in case the savages return later to their

old ways and again try to resist the Government, in which case the suppressing operations would not be likely to end in failure as they have done so often in the past.

Repeated attempts to subjugate the savages by force have been made since 1895, but it is no exaggeration to say that not a single one was successful. Our most conspicuous failure was the one which befel an expedition on an extensive scale which had been despatched against the Tarokaku savages near Taito, when a considerable number of fire-arms fell into the hands of the savages. As a result, they exclaimed with effrontery that the Murata rifles were very feeble and weak, meaning by the term "Murata rifles" the Japanese army. This fact cannot of course be taken as a test of the real efficiency of our army; the sole cause of the disaster being the imperfect acquaintance our men had with the geography of the district. They were obliged to force their way through creepers and undergrowth along almost forgotten tracks, where the footprints of birds and beasts were their only guide, though had they but known it, there was a regular path not far off. Moreover, the savages can run like deer and climb like monkeys, sometimes springing up into trees for refuge when closely pursued, and sometimes covering the ground in long leaps or skilfully hiding themselves in the bushes. It is no wonder that our expeditions hitherto have achieved no perceptible measure of success, when we call to mind that they were conducted in accordance with the accepted principles of military tactics. Regular troops are of little use in guerilla warfare. But I believe that when the brigands are exterminated and the constabulary are able to devote their full attention to the defence of the savage frontiers, all the savages will lose their means of subsistence and be compelled to come in and tender their submission. The geography of their district will then come to light, and with the aid of the knowledge thus obtained, it will be possible to devise means to complete their subjugation.

Our policy towards them is, in sum and substance, simply a continuation of that which was adopted towards the brigands; and the fruits are now beginning to ripen. Just now our authorities are considering a scheme to divide off a section of the savage district by building a road ten miles long in the northern part of the island from Kutsshaku to Giran. When

this is done, the savages living to the north of this road will be completely isolated and be compelled to surrender, and in consequence the district for felling camphor trees will be considerably extended. The Keito tribe, also, who have acquired the name of being the wildest and fiercest of all the savages, will suffer not a little, and as a result the Taikokan savages who chiefly depend upon the Keito savages for supplies, will be much weakened. Thus the plan proposed appears likely to be of material assistance in solving this difficult problem.

At present, the people who have accepted our rule number some 3,000,000. They occupy only about one-third of the whole area of Formosa, while the remaining two-thirds of the island is all in the hands of the savages who number only about 100,000, and who never tolerate any intrusion upon their territory. From this, some may imagine that these savages are all members of one distinct race, and that the whole 100,000 souls maintain perfect communication with one another. But in reality they are split up into several hundred different tribes and families who are each quite independent of the others. Not only do they hold no communication with one another, but often a tribe living in one district is in absolute ignorance of the existence of any other tribe. Moreover, even between sections of the same tribe, strife and quarrelling are of common occurrence. If there exists anything which may be said to be common to all the savages, it is the Malayan blood which flows in their veins and the almost implacable hatred which they feel, not only against the Formosan Chinese, but also against all new-comers from foreign lands.

There seems to be a consensus of opinion among scholars that most of the tribes are of Malayan origin. Though not qualified to pronounce an authoritative opinion upon this subject, I entertain a firm conviction that our Japanese ancestors and these savages are in some way blood relations. During my stay in Taihoku, I went one day to the Medical School, and was present in some of the class-rooms while the lectures were given. In one class I noticed a student asking the lecturer some question, and remarked that his whole appearance was quite distinct from that of all the other students in the room. Not only in physique, but also in the colour of his eyes, he bore no resemblance to ordinary Formosan students, but reminded

me much of Japanese students from Kiushiu. On inquiring from the principal instructor in the school, I was informed that he belonged to one of the savage tribes. I believe, therefore, that it would be a most interesting and fruitful historical study to compare these savages either with the Kumaso family in Kiushiu with the Lord Ada No Obashi or else with the ferocious chieftain Nagasunehiko, but this must be left to the care and study of specialists.

Not long ago the authorities despatched two officials, Messrs. Ino and Kurino, to the savage districts for the purpose of thoroughly investigating everything relating to the savages. After an extended tour which occupied about six months, they presented a report in book form of the results of their researches. According to this report, the savages may be divided into eight groups, each having its own peculiar language and customs and manners:—

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. Atayal Group. | 5. Paiwan Group. |
| 2. Vonum Group. | 6. Puyuma Group. |
| 3. Tsou Group. | 7. Ami Group. |
| 4. Tsalisen Group. | 8. Pepo Group. |

I. THE ATAYAL GROUP.

If a line be drawn across the island from east to west through Horisha, the savage district will be roughly divided into two halves. The savages living to the north of the line are distinguishable from the others by the tattoo marks on their faces, the southern tribes not tattooing themselves at all. Among the northern tribes the one which is scattered over the largest area is the Atayal Group. Their sphere of influence, so to say, is limited by a line drawn from Kutsshaku and Toi in the north to Mount Kantatsuman in the Horisha District and to Gyo-bikei in the Kirai District. They mostly live in mountain recesses, are extremely ferocious and attach great importance to head-hunting. This group is more uncivilised than any of the others. They are divided into many small tribes, the members of which are like one family, under the patriarchal rule of the chieftain. Each tribe has farms, but no paddy fields. These farms are communal property, and are divided among the families of the tribe in proportion to the number of people in

each. The portion thus allotted is respected by all, and is never liable to be encroached upon by the other members of the tribe. Sometimes, two or more tribes will unite to form a larger tribe. This happens mostly when a man of unusual ability appears who makes his influence felt over isolated tribes. In consultation with the other elders, the chief decides all matters of importance affecting the tribe. His office is hereditary, but if he has no children or if his heir is an idiot, he appoints some other successor. As head of the tribe, he has authority to mete out punishment for adultery, for quarrelling and for theft. Adultery is considered the most serious crime, and in such cases both criminal parties are as a rule put to the sword. At present, the family inheritance passes down through the male line, but signs are still seen which show that at one time it passed through the female line. The fact that both the grandfather and grandmother are alike called "Yakki," and that the mother alone has the absolute right of naming the new-born children, are given as fully proving this assertion.

The houses are of very simple construction. First, four pillars are set in the ground in two rows, the two front ones being somewhat higher than the back ones. To these pillars are bound props and laths, the entire rude structure being covered with rushes from the wayside. No distinction is made between the walls and the roof. In some cases, however, middle pillars are made use of, and occasionally the interior is divided into rooms. Granaries are also built; poultry runs and sheds to shelter pigs complete the establishment. On the farms, chestnut trees, potatoes, Indian corn, hemp, flax, ginger, earth nuts, tobacco and taros are cultivated. The harvests are once a year, seldom twice. The savages burn the stubs remaining in the ground after harvest and thus unwittingly enrich the soil; otherwise they do not appear to understand the use of fertilisers. Consequently the ground becomes exhausted after three or four years, and they are obliged to make use of other land. They sow their seed broadcast, not making any special seed bed. In the south, however, they sometimes specially prepare the soil. All the time not employed in agricultural work, they utilise in fishing and hunting, in which pursuits all, even those who are only twelve or thirteen years old, engage with great zest. Each family keeps dogs for hunting purposes.

Sometimes a single family will have as many as ten of these quadrupeds. The people look upon them almost as forming part of their family, and make them the object of most caressing love and fond endearment; in extreme cases, indeed, going so far as to eat out of the same dish and even sleep in the same bed as their canine friends. The rifle is their principal weapon, and the non-possession of fire-arms is regarded as a great disgrace. They also use long spears, made of bamboo, six or seven feet long, with heads eight or nine inches long. They always carry a sword and never put it down for a single moment. In fishing, they use a kind of narcotic fluid made from the roots of a poisonous creeper called "Lo-tin". The fluid is thrown into the stream and in a little while the fish rise to the surface, stupefied, and are then readily captured by the savages, either with their hands or with the spears above mentioned. China grass, dye yam, fish creeper, akebia, medicinal orchids, mushrooms and pachyma grow in the savage districts, the last four being useful as medicines. These articles constitute the main staples which the savages make use of for purposes of barter with the Chinese. Sometimes the savages use jewels and iron vessels as currency, but of late some of them have come to understand the use of silver coins. The Atayals are reputed to be quite clever at making China grass goods and joinery work. They are also skilful netters and weavers. The men wear a peculiar dress, very wide in the collar and without sleeves. They wear, as a loin-cloth, a piece of cloth six or seven inches long and about an inch and a half wide, which they suspend by means of a string attached to one end. The women's dresses have sleeves and open collars; they also wear round their waists a piece of cloth three or four feet long fastened with a string. Abroad the men wear a square of cloth over their breasts while the women wear leggings. The men also have semicircular hats made of closely plaited China grass, the front part of which they sometimes adorn with a piece of bearskin. Both men and women alike are fond of necklaces, bracelets and other ornaments made of the teeth of animals, hard red berries obtained from a certain tree, and brass and other bright metals. The ears are adorned with a small piece of bamboo half an inch long which is thrust through a hole pierced in the lobe. Both men and women remove from

the upper jaw the two lateral incisors, as they consider that the removal of these teeth improves their personal appearance.

Their chief articles of food are millet and rice, which are both boiled carefully. The wine they use is brewed from rice or millet by means of yeast obtained from the Chinese traders. The yeast is mixed with steamed rice or millet, and the mixture is covered over with leaves or rushes and left to ferment. The crude liquor thus brewed is drunk after having been filtered through a kind of wicker basket.

In regard to marriage, the man or woman selects a partner as he or she chooses, the bride-elect going to the house of the man or he going to her house, no interference whatever being allowed by any third party. The east Atayals possess in their most populous districts a hut elevated on piles some twenty feet above the ground, where the newly married couples spend their honeymoon. No one is allowed to have more than one partner or to marry into another tribe. When a baby is born, the mother washes it with cold water. The naming takes place ten days after birth. During this time the father and other members of the family abstain entirely from their usual pursuits of hunting for heads and game. When an Atayal dies, all the members of the family mourn and lament. The dead body is dressed in new clothes, and after the knees have been bent and the body forced to assume a squatting position, it is clothed with deer skins or with ordinary clothes and then buried in the ground. The people never venture to approach the burial place, nor do they care to talk about the dead.

II. THE VONUM GROUP.

The tribes which live in the southern portions of Mount Kantatsuman and Dakusuikei to the south of Horisha call themselves "Vonum". Most of them resemble the Atayals in their fondness for living in the rugged recesses of the mountains. Only one tribe known as the "Suisharenhoa" has its habitation in the plains. According to their traditions, their ancestors migrated into Formosa from an unknown islet in the midst of the surging ocean long ago in days which are now lost in legendary mists. At first they lived in the plains, but a terrible all-devouring deluge took place, and, to add to

SAVAGE TYPES.



ATAYAL MAN.



ATAYAL WOMAN.

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VONUM MAN.



VONUM WOMAN.

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SAVAGE TYPES.



ATAYAL MAN.



ATAYAL WOMAN.

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VONUM MAN.



VONUM WOMAN.

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SAVAGE TYPES.



TSOU MAN.



TSOU WOMAN.

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TSALISEN MAN.



TSALISEN WOMAN.

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their terrors, a huge serpent was seen swimming towards them through the stormy waters, evidently determined to devour them. At this critical moment, however, a monster crab appeared and fought against the horrible serpent, and after a terrific struggle at last succeeded in killing it.

The manners and customs of these tribes bear a close resemblance to those of the Atayal group. They brew wine from millet and rice by chewing the grain and preserving the masticated substance in jars until it ferments. Thanksgiving ceremonies are observed at harvest time in honour of the spirits of their ancestors, and heartfelt gratitude is then expressed for all past favours, and a continuance of the same is requested. At this time, too, it is the custom to extinguish all fires and to kindle new ones by rubbing two pieces of wood together. This pristine way of obtaining fire reminds one of the description given in ancient Japanese history of the early life of some of our ancestors. The Suisharenhoa family tribe mentioned above is somewhat different in their way of life from the other tribes belonging to this group. This is due to the long intercourse and frequent contact which they have enjoyed with the Chinese. They have advanced so much indeed that they now use water buffaloes for farming purposes. They are on this account called semi-civilised savages.

III. THE TSOU GROUP.

The stretches of land lying round Mount Arizan to the south of Kagi as far as Sansanrin and Rokkiri in the south, and bounded on the east by the Formosan central mountain ranges and on the west by other mountains, are occupied by a group of savages who call themselves "Tsou," but are often called by others "The Arizan Savages". This tribe is characterised by a unique organisation. The whole of the land occupied by the group is owned by one clan called Hyofupa. All the tribesmen consider that the land they cultivate is leased from this clan, and therefore give them a tithe out of their annual harvests. They also pay a tithe on whatever game they take in hunting. Some of this group wear Chinese dress, as the result of their long intercourse with the Chinese. They also have a sort of Public Council Hall which they call "The Kutsuba". This covers an area of over 1,400 square

feet. The floor is raised four feet from the ground and is carpeted with matting woven out of China grass. This hall is used as a lodging place by all the unmarried young men above twelve or thirteen years of age. These youths are hardened by a severe training and discipline, and their courage and virtue are fostered. No woman is allowed to enter their quarters, nor may any young man bring with him any article used by women. In times of emergency, the hall is converted into the headquarters of the group where all matters of general interest are discussed, and it devolves upon the young men to give notice and warning to the whole of the members of the group.

IV. THE TSALISEN GROUP.

This group is scattered over a mountainous territory lying to the north-east of Hozan in the neighbourhood of Sekizan, extending south as far as the northern extremity of Subonke, and on the east bounded by the central mountain range. We call them "Kari," but they call themselves "Tsalisen". Their manners and customs are almost similar to those of the other savage tribes. Among them the newly married wife continues to remain at the home of her mother until her first child is born, when she removes to the home of her husband. From the time the wife conceives, the man puts a special restraint upon himself, and for the month preceding the expected birth he confines himself entirely to the house, never once setting his foot outside the threshold of his abode. During this time, too, the position of the household furniture is never changed, and all repairs are postponed until after the child has been born. The savages of this group have for more than a century ceased to be head-hunters, and now devote themselves to farming. From their frequent intercourse with the Chinese they have become skilful blacksmiths and carvers. Some of them have actually become such adepts in the latter craft that they do embossed carving. Their dress is quite civilised compared with any of the other groups, the women wearing dresses with long trailing skirts quite in the European style.

V. THE PAIWAN GROUP.

The savages who live in the Koshun district in the southern part of Formosa have been called from olden times "Liongkiao



WESTERN GATE OF KOSHUN.

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SAVAGE TYPES.



AMI MAN.



AMI WOMAN.

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SAVAGE TYPES.

PAIWAN WOMAN.



PAIWAN MAN.



**TAME DUCKS ON THE
TAMSUI RIVER.**

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PUYUMA MAN.



PUYUMA WOMAN.

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Savages," but they call themselves "Paiwan". The area occupied by this group extends from Koshun to Taito. Their teeth are usually extremely black from the habit they have of chewing betel nut, and on this account black teeth are regarded by them as a sign of personal beauty, so much so indeed that they actually go so far as purposely to stain their teeth with juice which they obtain from a certain plant called Chitsuru. To this group belonged those savages whom the Japanese army was forced to chastise in 1872, on account of the merciless way in which they had treated our shipwrecked sailors who had been cast upon their shores. The Paiwans, who live near Koshun, make charcoal, and occasionally visit both Koshun and Shajo for the purpose of disposing of their stocks.

VI. THE PUYUMA GROUP.

The tribes belonging to this group occupy the plains in Hinan and that neighbourhood, and call themselves "Puyumas," but the Chinese call them the "Hinan Savages". The Puyumas formed a very powerful State some 300 years ago, and united under one single rule as many as seventy isolated tribes scattered over the land, stretching from Hakusekikwaku and Seikoko to Harogwai in the southern part of the island, and were at one time so powerful that the chieftain was called by foreigners "The King of Hinan". But the bonds of suzerainty became more loose and loose, so that at present all the tribes are in a greatly enfeebled condition.

VII. THE AMI GROUP.

The tribes belonging to this group are scattered over the district extending from the plains of Hinan to those of Kirai. They call themselves "Ami". Their customs and manners are nearly the same as those of the other savage tribes. One peculiarity, however, is that while the people wear loin-cloths indoors, the men at least are usually stark naked when they go out, hardly ever wearing anything at all beyond a very primitive makeshift made by sewing together a few leaves, and even this they only wear very rarely. This habit appears to have its origin in the fact that, at the time of their ancestors, cloth was a great rarity not to be easily obtained. It is not to be understood from this, that the Ami group are less

enlightened than the other savages. The exact contrary is the case. They are considerably advanced in various arts, and already know the use of silver money. They are moreover reported to be clever saw-makers, cutting the teeth with files. They also turn out a rude description of earthenware. All this comes from the frequent opportunities which they have had of coming into contact with the Chinese, owing to the fact that their settlements are mostly on the plains. The members of each tribe are divided into six classes according to their ages. The sixth or lowest includes all those between fifteen and twenty years old; and as each five years is completed, the person is promoted into the next class. All labour is portioned out according to these classes. The patriarchs in the highest class are all held in great esteem and are highly respected. They only are eligible for chieftainship.

VIII. THE PEPO GROUP.

If the savages in Formosa be classified according to the geographical positions which they occupy, those living in the mountainous regions might be called "The Highland Savages," while those residing in the plains might be styled "The Lowland Savages" or Pepohoans. The former have very scant opportunity of coming into contact with the currents of civilisation, and so are naturally very backward. But those who live on the plains are necessarily subject to many stimulating influences, and are thus pushed forward along the path of civilisation. The tribes belonging to the Pepo group are scattered over the broad tracts of level land which lie in the western parts of the island. They have had long intercourse not only with the Dutch but also with the Chinese, with whom they were at times on friendly terms, even tolerating mixed residence, while at others war was waged between the two parties. These tribes have gradually been driven away and exterminated, and the poor remnants are so advanced in civilisation as to be hardly distinguishable from the Chinese. Indeed, throughout the keen racial struggle which lasted during the space of two centuries, the tribes belonging to this group played a most important rôle, taking the leading part and, therefore, bearing the brunt of the strife. Their sphere of influence at one time comprised

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almost the whole island, stretching, it is said, from Hozan and Tainan in the south through Rokko and Shoka to Taihoku, Kelung and Tamsui in the north. This shows how powerful this group must have been, but now the fabric is shattered and they are split up into numerous small tribes who are quite independent of one another.

To sum up what has been thus far described, these eight leading savage groups number 104,334 souls, but there may also be other groups still undiscovered. Recent investigations show them to be divided as under, *vis.* :—

Name of Group.	Number of Tribes.	Number of Houses.	Population.
Atayal	182	4,613	20,527
Vonum	144	2,072	15,610
Tsou	39	331	2,961
Tsalien	105	5,572	24,860
Paiwan	110	3,021	14,982
Puyuma	14	1,483	5,738
Ami	84	3,183	18,775
Pepo	24	150	881
Total	702	20,425	104,334

Some scholars divide the savages into four classes according to the time of their supposed arrival in Formosa. According to this classification, the Paiwan group stands first, as they are considered to have been the earliest to settle in the island. The Puyumas come next, then the Amis, and lastly the Pepohoans. The Puyumas are sometimes regarded as being descended from Japanese immigrants, while the Pepohoans are thought to be descended in the same way from the Loochooans. As to whether they still preserve the original state of life which they brought with them into the island, or whether they have progressed in culture owing to the operation of the principle of the survival of the fittest, or whether on the contrary they have retrograded since they sought refuge in the mountain recesses, I am not in a position to express any definite opinion. But this much at least can safely be stated, that since their contact with the Formosan Chinese they have undergone a lamentable mental and moral deterioration. The treatment meted out to them by the Formosan Chinese has been one continual course of perfidy and slaughter.

When these unscrupulous and utterly heartless creatures wished to obtain possession of the land belonging to the savages, they would give them a present, promising to repeat the same each year. But once the savages had listened to their request and allowed them to use the land, the wily Celestials collected other equally wily and unscrupulous men around them, and, as soon as they felt themselves strong enough, repudiated all their engagements, and, falling upon the too trustful savages, drove them off by force. Again, when these Chinese wished to fell camphor trees, they invited the savages who resided in the district to a banquet and feasted them sumptuously with roast pork and Chinese wine, both of which the savages look upon as great delicacies. As the wine began to work, the cruel Chinese seized the unsuspecting savages and, after tying them up, sent for their wives and children. As soon as these latter arrived the men were set free, but the wives and children were retained as hostages until the Chinese had felled all the camphor trees they required. These are only a few examples of the fiendish way in which these poor savages have been treated by the Formosan Chinese. No doubt there are some who dealt more honestly, but even then the interpreters whom they were forced to use almost always took advantage of the savages' ignorance to gull them sadly.

Not content with this, some of these Chinese actually roast the flesh of their victims, make it into soup, or salt it down for future use; the liver, heart, kidneys and soles of the feet being regarded as specially dainty morsels and eagerly bought up by the rich Chinese mandarins and gentry, who esteem them precious medicines. Sometimes the flesh is exported to Amoy. When asked how it tastes, these cannibal Chinese say it is ineffably delicious and beyond the power of human language to describe, and cannot even be imagined by those who have never had the joy of eating it. When told that to eat human flesh is very cruel and barbarous, they smile and say the savages are not men but a species of large monkey.

As the Chinese have always treated the savages so cruelly, it is but natural that the nature of those savages who have come into contact with them should have changed decidedly for the worse, so that now they regard everybody who sets foot on their territory as a deadly foe. Their feelings towards

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Japanese are, however, somewhat different. As an illustration of this, it may be stated that if, when they are out head-hunting, they happen to meet Japanese, they always consult together before attacking them, whereas when they meet Chinese no consultation whatever is held, but the unhappy Celestials are instantly attacked and speedily deprived of their heads. This is because the Japanese have hitherto invariably acted towards them in a merciful and friendly way. If, however, we decide to open up their lands and come streaming into their midst, it is more than probable that they will throw off their present attitude of moderation and goodwill and make no distinction between us and the Chinese.

Since the island came into our possession the loss of life inflicted upon us by these savages is as follows:—

Year.	Attacks.	Killed by Savages.
1900	400	622
1901	342	633
1902	270	434
1903	120	211
Total	1,132	1,900

This seems to show that they are almost untameable. On the other hand, some people say that they are quite capable of being trained and civilised. In 1903, the employees of Mr. Dogura took several savage girls to the Domestic Exhibition which was held in Osaka. Their few months' stay in Japan thoroughly Japanised them, so much so, indeed, that by the end of the time they looked at first glance almost like Osaka girls, especially as they all had their hair done up just like Japanese. When they got back, however, their mothers objected to the change, and said it seemed to them most unbecoming. The girls laughed and said: "You only say so because you are savages". This instance was often referred to at that time as a convincing proof of the feasibility of civilising and training the savages. Mr. Lin Wei-yuen, who was Minister of Agriculture for a long time during the Chinese administration, is considered to have wide experience in governing the savages. One day he said to me: "The policy pursued towards

the savages is either that of trying to subjugate them by force of arms, or assimilating them by kindness and goodwill. The first method seems to me to have no effect except to make them more and more like wolves, while the latter is calculated to appease and pacify them and to make them gradually become good citizens. I think very highly of Liu Ming-chuan, but I consider it a great pity that he preferred to subdue the savages by force rather than by kindness." Almost everybody who has come in contact with the savages declares that they are all quite capable of being raised from their present state of barbarism, and I am very strongly of the same opinion. But it is a question how much longer the Japanese authorities will be willing to pursue their present policy of moderation and goodwill, and leave nearly half the island in their hands. If there were a prospect of their becoming more manageable in ten or even in twenty years, the present policy might possibly be continued for that length of time, but if the process should require a century or so, it is quite out of the question, as we have not that length of time to spare. This does not mean that we have no sympathy at all for the savages. It simply means that we have to think more about our 45,000,000 sons and daughters than about the 104,000 savages. We cannot afford to wait patiently until they throw off barbarism, and spontaneously and truly entertain towards us feelings of friendship and goodwill. It is far better and very necessary for us to force our way into the midst of their territories and bring all the waste land under cultivation. But how can this be best accomplished? It may be done either by pushing forward the present guards step by step, or by the method now adopted by Great Britain in British North Borneo and also in Rhodesia, of granting certain privileges to some private company and giving them for a certain fixed time the right both of administration and legislation. By doing this the territory in question is both governed and cultivated at the same time.

As has been already stated in Chapter II., the British colonies may be divided into five classes, each of which has a different form of government. In those colonies which are specially backward in civilisation, the authority and powers of government are granted to a chartered company, whose managing director acts as Governor-General, the Home

Government simply exercising supervisory control. The writer is acquainted with a gentleman who belonged to the Cabinet of Mr. Barsh, the Governor of Borneo. Speaking about the organisation of that company, he said to me once: "British North Borneo under our Government is a good example of the simplest and most convenient form of British colonial rule. If you wish to know the secret of British colonial success, you would do well to come and visit Borneo. Most of our shareholders live in London, and our board meetings are all held at the company's office in Leadenhall Street. But the gentleman who is chosen by the shareholders to act as President of the company is the Viceroy and Governor of an island colony having an area of 31,000 square miles, and is invested with full power to administer it and issue all necessary orders the very moment he is informed by the Foreign Office in Downing Street that his appointment is approved. Then again the treasurer who serves under the President is really the Minister of Finance, and the person employed as controller and general inspector may be called the Chief of Police. The company has full liberty at any place in the colony it desires to carry on commercial enterprises, to fell timber, to construct harbours, to build roads and provide other means of communication. It has also full authority to issue laws and orders and to levy taxes, not only upon natives, but also on Europeans. If you are inclined to think that the company will be disposed to oppress the people and tax them too heavily, it cannot do so because the people will not submit to being treated by the company as they would submit to being treated by their lawful native rulers. The salient feature of this method consists in the fact, that under it the colony is both governed and cultivated by the same organisation, and so no clashing of aims can arise. Moreover, the cost of administration is considerably less, and the business is pushed far more energetically than when the Government is in direct charge. These two facts constitute indeed the chief features of this colonial system."

Indeed, this British colonial policy has been so successful, because it has been so skilfully and quickly adapted to the requirements of every change of circumstances. This may be ascribed to the influence of those great principles of liberalism in which Great Britain is such an ardent believer. In fact, it

is by means of this policy that she has been able to transform the Indian peninsula into such a powerful empire. It is to this policy also that the British possessions in South Africa owe their prosperity and rapid development. The Dutch territories in the East have all likewise been secured by the same policy. This wonderful policy consists merely in granting to a corporation organised by private citizens the power of governing the colony for a period of twenty or thirty years. The Government need not subsidise this corporation in any way. When the charter expires the company is dissolved and the authority returns to the Government. In this way, the company derives profit from the enterprise and is also able to provide occupation for large numbers of the unemployed, while the Government is enabled to accomplish its purpose of opening up the colony without expending a single farthing, and on the day when the company's charter expires, lo! the Government receives a flourishing and well-equipped colony. Indeed this plan presents no difficulty or undesirable consequences; but on the contrary, it would bring untold benefit not only to the Government but also to the private individuals who form the company. I most earnestly wish, therefore, that a chartered company be organised after the British model to take up the cultivation of the savage districts in Formosa under the auspices of the Governor-General, and that for a certain fixed period, say for twenty or thirty years, this company be granted full powers to govern, to work the mines, to fell timber, to engage in agricultural industries, and also to construct harbours and build roads for facilitating internal communication. To this company also should be assigned the duty of educating and instructing the savage tribes, and it should have full liberty to take whatever action might be necessary in case any of the savages offered resistance. If it be deemed unwise to entrust the whole of the savage districts to a single company, the territory might be split up into two or even into three sections and be given to as many different companies. If this method be adopted, the chief advantages will be as under, *viz.* :—

1. The whole Japanese nation will feel a personal interest in our Formosan colony.
2. The Government will be enabled to bring the waste lands under cultivation without expending anything at all.

3. The Government will secure a fresh source of revenue by inserting a clause in the proposed charter to the effect that the company shall pay a certain percentage of their profits to the Government.

4. The law of natural selection will have full sway. Those savages who can be trained will be taught, and those who are not capable of being trained and instructed will pass away. In this way various evils will be eradicated, and many of the savages be brought into the light of civilisation.

5. The prospects of Formosa will be greatly improved ; for, by the time the company's charter expires, all the waste lands will have been made into fertile lands fit for any purpose ; and, under the influence of such cultivation, mines and agricultural enterprises of every kind will be planned and pushed forward briskly.

The formation of such a company would not be so difficult as might at first sight appear. When Cecil Rhodes, that great empire-builder, floated the South African Chartered Company, the whole issue of 500,000 shares was applied for even before they had been put on the public market. But perhaps some may contend that this plan could not succeed without a Cecil Rhodes to put it through. This, however, is quite a mistake. Cecil Rhodes was, indeed, a man whose abilities were badly needed at that time for the huge task which lay before him ; for it was necessary for him, not only to gain the hearts of the various native tribes in the colony, but also to direct the energies of the British nation to his new enterprise. In the case of Formosa, however, the position is quite different. The nation's attention is already sufficiently alive to the urgency of the Formosan problem, and as for the savages, they are not likely to prove such a very hard nut to crack. In fact, nothing more is now needed than a man, not with genius, but simply a good business organiser, with sufficient intrepidity and determination to undertake the task. I hope that this suggestion may be of service to the authorities, and assist them to arrive at a conclusion how best to pacify the savages.

CHAPTER XV.

PRODUCTS—TEA, SUGAR, RICE.

Benjamin Kidd on the colonies—Formosa's superior climatic conditions—Her fertility—Her natural products.

TEA.—The supposed origin of Oolong tea—Its introduction into foreign markets—Table of exports—Prosperity of Tamsui due to the tea trade—Foreigners' exorbitant profits—Japanese tea gradually ousted by Oolong—Government efforts to improve the tea—Tea factory hands—Rough estimate of profits.

SUGAR.—The nations as sugar consumers—Japan's sugar bill—Former attempts to exploit sugar in Formosa—Various methods of production—The Government encourage the industry—Institution of an important sugar company—Its methods—The success of the Government regulations—Table of exports to Japan and China—Bright prospects—Cane and beet sugar compared.

RICE.—Chinese policy, Formosa to be an agricultural colony—Rice, the staple product—Table of harvests and average crops per acre—Formosa's vegetable crops and cereals—Table of rice exports—Formosa, Japan's granary—Variations in the price of rice fields.

THOUGH Benjamin Kidd entertained somewhat extravagant views with regard to the multiplication of the Chinese race, and also allowed himself to be unduly affected by racial prejudice, yet his article, which appeared in the *American Independent* for 8th September, 1904, on "The Elevation of the Tropical Races," is quite interesting, especially where he touches on the subject of the rise of Japan. According to his view, history and nature alike agree in declaring that it is impossible for the white races to colonize the tropics, and he adds that this is confirmed by experience extending over centuries. He says:—

"It is becoming increasingly evident that there are certain conclusions respecting the tropics that are likely to become accepted without serious challenge in the future. They are conclusions of great significance as affecting the future of what have hitherto been the less developed races. In the first place,

it is now evident that there will be no true colonization of the tropical regions on any large scale by the white races. By this is meant that the peoples of European descent are not destined to displace the existing inhabitants of the warmer regions of the earth, as they have already displaced the original inhabitants of wide tracts in the temperate regions. . . . This leads direct to a second important consideration. It is becoming more evident every year, that one of the most significant phases of the future economic rivalry of the peoples of the world will have its base in the tropics. So steadily has the tide of empire taken its course northward in the past, that we are apt to forget a strong tendency now operating in the opposite direction—namely, the gradual shifting of the economic base of history southward. . . .

“We are probably destined to hear much in the future of the remarkable advantages in war of the simple commissariat of the Japanese armies. But that results of such magnitude as the campaign against Russia revealed could be accomplished by a people whose staple food was rice; that this tropical or sub-tropical product was already the principal food of nearly one-third of the human race; that the cost of labour, which the fact indicated, could remain so small, while the results obtained could be so striking and effective, tended to bring vividly home to the mind the possible efficiency and intensity of an industrial competition that would develop itself in the future on a wide and organised base in the tropics.

“A suggestive example of another kind is the case of cotton production. For the past three-quarters of a century the Southern United States, under the favourable labour and physical conditions there prevailing, has grown the greater part of the world's cotton supply. . . . While, however, the cotton belt in the United States is a strictly limited area, the cotton-consuming population of the world has been increasing by leaps and bounds. The European peoples of the world have doubled within fifty years and have nearly quadrupled within a century. The growth of civilisation is at the same time rapidly extending the demand for cotton products among other races. . . . As the economic pressure of civilisation to develop the tropics continues, the cry is everywhere going up for races able to sustain the burden of the development which

the tropics are destined to undergo. In response to this pressure it is possible that we shall witness in the future almost as large movements of population in the tropics as history has already witnessed in the temperate regions. But it will be the races who are best able and who are best prepared to take their share in the strenuous development to come, to whom the future of the warmer regions of the world will belong. It is the gospel of work which will be the gospel of the future in the tropics."

I am struck with the keenness and farsightedness of this view, and find his theory of special interest as applied to Formosa.

Formosa lies between 120° and 123° east and between 21° and 26° north, in almost exactly the same latitude as Canton, Calcutta, Muscat and Cuba; but the climate of Formosa is superior in many respects to that of any of these places. Unlike India, which has very little rain, the island has an abundant rainfall, which is limited to a certain season, and does not last too long. The hot rays of the sun are tempered by fogs, which help forward the growth of vegetation, and make the island so fertile that almost every plant will flourish. In Japan bamboo cuttings hardly ever live if simply thrust into the ground, but not so in Formosa. One has only to stick a piece of bamboo in the ground, and it is almost certain to grow without requiring any more attention. Indeed the same may be said of almost any plant.

Tea plants will hardly ever bear transplanting in Japan, but in Formosa slips and branches easily take root. They will grow to a height of three feet in three years, and the leaves can be picked six times a year—in April, June, July, August, September and November. This shows the rich fertility of the island. Both in the north and the south most of the fields produce two crops a year, and the Government agricultural specialists say it is quite possible by wisely utilising all the natural resources to obtain three crops annually. The Central Districts, which now give only one crop, will, it is believed, yield twice as much as soon as they are properly irrigated.

The Screw Pine, from which Panama hats worth 7 or 8 yen each can be made by the prisoners at about a quarter the price, grows in profusion on almost every hillside. The pineapple, that delicious tropical fruit, is to be found in abundance

in every village throughout the island. The fruit is canned, and the leaves when crushed are used with cotton yarn for weaving a fine cloth, which is sold under the name of pineapple cloth. Rushes, which in Japan are used only for covering the walls and roofs of the very poorest houses, are in Formosa made into paper, which is able to hold its own against the Chinese article. An experimental station for the manufacture of this kind of paper has been set up by the Government some two miles from Kagi. Petroleum was found by an American gentleman at Bioritsu during the Chinese occupation, and experimental borings were later made by a Japanese at Shohabokonaisho, but these were afterwards abandoned. Recent scientific research has, however, led people to believe in the existence of a petroleum vein over 200 miles long extending all the way from Banshorio to Taihoku. One well at Bioritsu produces 140 gallons of good oil every day. It will be seen from the above that the island is rich in natural resources, but the covetousness of the Chinese officials, and the economic pressure of the Amoy and Foochow merchants, reduced it to a purely agricultural colony. Nearly all the daily necessities of life, even such articles as common paper and cheap earthenware, were imported from the Chinese mainland, the island industries being left absolutely undeveloped. Here in the island we, Japanese, have ample scope for exploiting every kind of industrial enterprise. There is a common Chinese saying that honest men become thieves when they handle precious stones. Surely Formosa is a precious stone which the Chinese could not handle without injury; but now this gem has passed into our hands, and it is our duty to polish it, giving it such a lustre that it will be dazzling in its brightness.

TEA.

In the list of Formosan industries Oolong tea comes first. The name Oolong, by which Formosan tea is generally known, is derived from a Fokien tradition. One morning early a farmer in the province of Fokien went out to a tea plantation on Mount Bui. He found a black serpent twined round one of the tea plants, and thinking there must be some mystery about it, he plucked off a few leaves and took them home. He brewed some tea from the leaves and found the taste ex-

tremely pleasing. After that similar tea bushes were planted everywhere, and the tea was called Oolong. Oolong means the dragon or snake as black as a crow.

Besides this, there is what is called Wrapper tea, in which certain flowers are mixed with ordinary tea leaves in order to assist in bringing out a flavour, which seems to be specially pleasing to Chinese residents in Australia. It is now unknown just when this tea plant was introduced into the island. Oolong tea from Formosa was first brought to the notice of European merchants and consumers in 1861 by Mr. Robert Swinhoe, the British Consul at Tamsui, and Mr. John Dodd was the first exporter. It was first tasted by Americans in 1867, and the amount shipped in that year was registered as 2,030 piculs, worth \$15 per picul. A complete history of Oolong tea would fill quite a big volume; but it will be sufficient to say here that together with Ceylon tea it now commands the American market, and will probably one day altogether oust the Green tea of Japan.

Formosa produces at present about 13,000,000 lb. of tea each year, of which about 6,500,000 yen worth is exported. The following table shows the annual exports for the past eight years:—

Year.	Oolong Tea.		Wrapper Tea.	
	Weight in lb.	Value in Yen.	Weight in lb.	Value in Yen.
1897 . . .	13,393,079	6,445,120	1,835,564	460,910
1898 . . .	13,966,973	5,696,842	2,028,139	526,733
1899 . . .	11,652,050	4,723,451	2,188,708	572,345
1900 . . .	10,936,922	4,186,703	2,505,680	630,949
1901 . . .	10,324,546	2,996,002	2,195,660	505,062
1902 . . .	13,843,125	6,033,224	2,000,669	480,683
1903 . . .	14,464,738	5,323,938	2,455,892	639,535
1904 . . .	13,119,640	5,054,450	2,427,579	716,299

This does not include the quantity sent to Japan, which in 1901 amounted to 684,749 yen; in 1902 to 228,289 yen; and in 1903 to 299,134 yen. The greater part of this is believed to have been reshipped to the United States *via* Kobe or Yokohama, and the rest to Europe. The total value of Formosa's exports for the year 1902 was 21,224,366 yen, so that Oolong tea constitutes almost one-third of the whole.

The port of Tamsui indeed owes its existence solely to the tea trade, which forms one-half the commerce between that port and Amoy.

Japanese have no share in this large export business; it is entirely in the hands of Englishmen, Americans, Chinese and Formosans, who secure almost all the profits, while the Formosan farmers who produce these enormous crops remain just as poor, their mode of living just as low, their houses just as dirty, and their methods of preparing and cultivating the tea just as crude as ever. The price of this tea was \$10 per bale in 1866, \$34 for the best quality in 1868, \$39 in 1880, and about \$35 in 1900. The owners of the tea plantations and those who were engaged in preparing the tea for the market ought therefore to have reaped large profits, but they have received nothing at all worth mentioning. In short, during the thirty-eight years that have elapsed since Oolong tea was first exported, a sum of no less than 150,000,000 yen must have been brought into Formosa, yet nothing beyond mere wages has been received by these workers. This is enough to show what an enormous proportion the merchants must have retained for themselves. After it is picked the tea passes through many hands before it reaches the European and American markets. The tea brokers squeeze as much profit as possible out of it, the Chinese merchants who buy it from these brokers must make a living, the packers require their share, the shipping agents their commission, the commission merchants do all they can to increase their remuneration; and, to crown all, the tea is not sent direct to its destination, but to Amoy, where it has to be transhipped into other vessels, adding to the expense for loading and unloading, storage and interest, to say nothing of the loss in weight. The foreign consumer is therefore compelled to pay a high price, while the poor Formosan farmer sees but a small fraction of the value, all the intermediate profits going into the pockets or cash-boxes of the Chinese and foreign middlemen.

It is a wonderful stroke of good fortune that Japanese Green tea should have the extensive sale it has. The taste for it is such a peculiar one that the sale is confined almost entirely to the United States; even we, Japanese, who have been brought up to drink it from our childhood, are beginning to give it up

and take coffee and cocoa instead. Wide-awake merchants realize that the demand is falling off and that it is never likely to increase. On the other hand, Oolong tea exactly suits the American palate, and the sales are already large though the business has not been pushed as it might have been.

At the expressed request of the foreign tea merchants, the Formosan authorities have devoted special attention to the selection of tea plants of good quality. They issued an order in August, 1898, that a Tea Merchants' Guild should be formed. Every one who was engaged in preparing or selling tea was required to join this guild, and those who adulterated the tea or who mixed it with inferior Chinese tea were liable to be expelled. This put an end almost entirely to the bad custom of preparing tea of inferior qualities, or mixing it with foreign ingredients. But it is by no means an easy matter to improve Oolong tea so that it can compete against Ceylon tea. In spite of the Government's efforts towards its improvement, such as establishing an experimental tea plantation at Toshien, and a model tea factory at Anpingchin, complaints as to the quality are frequent. The causes of the complaints are to be found in the present system of sales, by which the Formosan farmer and tea firer never come into direct communication with the foreign consumer, and by which the middlemen have ample opportunity of adding adulterants in order to secure larger profits for themselves. Such a condition of things must be done away with before the market can show much real improvement.

To a stranger living in Taihoku during the summer months nothing is more striking than the crowds of girls who may be seen early in the morning stepping out towards Twatutia. All these Chinese damsels are dressed in their best, their faces painted, their hair nicely combed, and coquettishly adorned with a cream-white flower whose fragrance at once delights the passers-by. Where are all these maidens going, who, according to all one has heard, should be strictly confined in the innermost chambers of their parents' houses? They are off to work in the tea factories, delighted at the opportunity of seeing something of the world. Most of them are from fifteen to nineteen years of age, some are older, and their daily wage ranges from 10 to 15 sen. Besides these factory girls,



GOVERNMENT MODEL TEA FACTORY AT ANPINGCHIN. *Page 240.*



LIGHT HAND RAILWAY ACROSS THE TAIAN RIVER. *Page 257.*

four or five thousand Chinamen are brought over each season from Amoy and other places on the mainland to assist in preparing the tea for shipment.

If the tea prepared in these factories were sold direct to the foreign merchants abroad without passing through the hands of the brokers and other middlemen, great profits would be realized, which according to Government statistics have been estimated as follows :—

For a plantation of 100,000 bushes—

	Yen.
Cultivation	600
Picking and manufacturing	1,750
Charcoal and fuel	388
Wear and tear of implements (cultivation and manufacture)	100
Total	2,838

To which should be added—

Transportation	120
Taxes	288
Interest on invested capital	316
Grand total	3,562

Receipts will vary considerably, but assuming that the highest grade of tea is produced, about 40 yen a picul should be realized.

120 piculs at 40 yen	Yen. 4,800
Deduct working expenses	3,562
Net profit	1,238

Can similar large profits be obtained in any other business? It is surprising then how few Japanese engage in such a lucrative enterprise. As I said before, the days of Green tea are numbered in spite of all the merchants may do; Oolong tea is fast driving it out of the market. With sales increasing by leaps and bounds the prospects of this industry are particularly bright.

SUGAR.

A traveller through Japan may judge of the state of refinement reached in the various parts of the country by observing the quality of the confectionery on sale. Well-made cakes with a pleasant taste reveal a high standard of living, but if the cakes are tasteless, it is pretty safe to conclude that the district is poor. This simple test may be applied to any

country in the world, and it will be found to be the rule that the more sugar a nation consumes, the more advanced that nation is. The English nation, the heaviest sugar consumer in the world, uses each year 69 lb. per head, the United States comes next with about 51 lb., Switzerland third with 45 lb., and Denmark fourth with 41 lb. Then come France, Germany and Holland, each with something between 22 and 27 lb. Japan averages about 14 lb., Russia and Portugal between 11 and 12 lb., while Bulgaria, Roumania and Turkey consume only 7 or 8 lb. per head.¹

Let us now consider the increase of the sugar consumption in Japan during the last few years. In 1888 we used 200,002,176 lb., that is about 5 lb. per head, in 1897 400,003,738 lb., about 10 lb. per head, while in 1903 our consumption rose to 500,005,541 lb., about 12 lb. per head. We used to pay out each year for foreign sugar between twenty and thirty million yen, a proof by the way that our standard of living is rapidly rising. With the increase in consumption likely to continue, the possession of such a good sugar-producing country as Formosa will be of inestimable benefit to us.

When sugar was first produced in Formosa is not exactly known, but it is believed to have been one of the principal products at the time of the Dutch occupation, the sugar plantations at that time being one-third as extensive as the rice fields. The frequent conflicts, which took place between the Dutch on the one side and the Japanese and Chinese on the other, are said to have been chiefly connected with sugar export. Under Koxinga's rule sugar production was warmly encouraged, and the industry became extremely flourishing; but during the Chinese régime not only was all Government protection withdrawn, but the industry was burdened with oppressive taxes. The Chinese capitalists adopted the plan of advancing money to both the farmers and the manufacturers in order to gain double interest in addition to their ordinary profit on the sales. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that hardly any of the profit was devoted to improving either the soil, the seed, or the methods of manufacture. The processes adopted both in cultivation and refining were crude and primitive in the extreme,

¹ "Third Annual Report of the Sugar Manufacturing Business," published by the Governor-General's Office, Formosa.

and continued unchanged for centuries. Had the island not been favoured with a remarkably rich soil, and an exceptionally good climate, the sugar production could hardly have continued. Many of the Chinese capitalists fled to China during the disturbances which took place just before our troops occupied the island, and a large number of the young and active sugar workers were killed in connection with the brigand troubles. These two causes reduced the business of sugar manufacturing at that time to a pitiable condition.

The sugar factories in Formosa used to be of three kinds. The first class were the head establishments which were set up by the large landowners and capitalists. Here sugar was manufactured from the cane grown upon the owners' plantations, or from that brought from elsewhere. The cane was grown by the tenants, or by those who through being heavily indebted to the landowner stood in the same relation as retainers. This is the system still prevailing in the south; under it the master of the sugar factory secures a threefold profit.

1. As landlord, he claims from his tenants from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. of the cane as rent.

2. As capitalist, he secures 14 per cent. to 24 per cent. interest on all the money he may have loaned to his tenant.

3. In order to cover the running expenses of the sugar factory he, as master, appropriates half the cane brought in by his tenants.

These vast profits leave very little for the poor tenants, who have therefore no means of improving the soil, but fall deeper and deeper into debt, until at length they become mere slaves of the sugar factor. This system has proved the greatest hindrance to the growth of the business.

The second class were the factories formed by the farmers themselves. The capital was so divided that one share was of the value of not more than two or three cows, and even so might be jointly held by two or three persons.

The third class were joint stock company factories, each company having not less than eight or nine shareholders.

The largest factory in any of the above three classes did not produce more than 220,000 lb. of sugar in a season, while the output of the smallest did not exceed 3,000 lb. There were a few other factories producing white sugar and molasses.

The fact that several million pounds of sugar were annually exported even under such an arbitrary and oppressive system proves how inexhaustible the sugar-producing resources of the island must be.

The authorities took various measures to encourage and stimulate the industry. They urged the formation of larger manufacturing companies, and at the same time instructed the banks to lower their rates on loans advanced for sugar cultivation. A glance at the Regulations for the Encouragement of the Sugar Business, which were issued in June, 1902, and the various minute rules attached thereto, is sufficient to impress any one with the earnest desire of the authorities to turn Formosa into another Java. The following are some of these regulations:—

“Those who open up Crown lands for the purpose of cultivating sugar can rent the ground, the ownership of which will be granted to them when they succeed in cultivating sugar.”

“No matter whether the land belongs to the Government or to some private individual, if over 12½ acres be opened up for sugar cultivation, expenses will be granted not exceeding 2 yen per quarter acre.”

“Anybody who cultivates sugar cane on over 5 acres of land will receive grants at the rate of 3.60 yen for young shoots, and 5 yen for fertilisers per quarter acre.”

“When it is estimated that the irrigation and drainage of the land will cost over 1,000 yen, a grant up to half the cost may be made by the Government.”

“Land belonging to the Government will be rented to sugar cultivators free of charge.”

“Sugar manufacturers who use machinery approved by the Government may receive over 20 per cent. of the cost of the same as a grant.”

“Subsidies will also be granted to those sugar manufacturers who use machinery capable of disposing of over 75,000 lb. of cane a day, and also to those refiners using machinery capable of refining over 15,000 lb. of crude sugar a day. The percentage of these subsidies will be duly notified every year.”

Lahaina cane cuttings have been imported and thrive well. A second variety, known as Rose Bamboo, which has also been obtained from Hawaii, has also given excellent results. In 1902, new kinds were introduced from Java and Australia.

The authorities also imported seven modern American crushing mills, which were loaned to southern manufacturers. Thus every means of encouragement was tried, but for some time with no apparent result. Now, however, the farmers are everywhere eager to obtain the new seeds, and are vying with each other in producing improved and superior canes.

The results of the Government's positive measures are evident in a harvest of more than 1,200,000,000 lb. from about 63,000 acres of land. When the authorities first urged the Formosan capitalists to establish larger sugar companies, and conduct the manufacture on a larger scale, they were quite indifferent, and appeared to pay no more attention to the suggestions than, according to the Chinese proverb, horses and oxen do to the wind. But the project was received with much favour in Japan, where such millionaires as Prince Mori, the Mitsui family, Messrs. Hara, Hosokawa and Fujita, as well as the Imperial household, took it up warmly, and formed the Formosan Sugar Company with a capital of 1,000,000 yen under a Government guarantee of at least 6 per cent. interest.

The site selected for the factory was at Kyoshito, which stands on the railway between Tainan and Takow, and was at that time a poor village. The sugar company occupies about 12½ acres of ground, nearly 7½ acres of which are covered with the factory buildings. Trains bring cane and other goods direct to the factory on a special siding. The cane after being measured is at once put into the pressing machine, which squeezes out the juice. This falls into tanks, where it is boiled by steam heat, and then passes through a number of pipes, into a last reservoir, where it is crystallised. After the sugar has been extracted the stems are dried in the sun, and then utilised as fuel in place of coal. The factory can consume 300 tons of cane in twenty-four hours, and the extensions contemplated in 1903 would still further increase the output. All the machinery used is automatic, and in addition there is a 5 horse-power electric dynamo capable of supplying 180 arc lamps of 16 candle-power. At first those who were interested in the old native sugar factories, fearing that their own business would be ruined, did all they could to prevent the new factory obtaining any cane. This opposition rendered work difficult for a time, but as the plantations were gradually ex-

tended under the Encouragement Regulations issued by the Government these early difficulties have been surmounted. The factory's net profit for 1904 was 20 per cent.

There is also a sugar factory just opposite the Tainan railway station. This belongs to Mr. Nakagawa, and is chiefly engaged in the manufacture of Japanese white sugar.

The success attending these ventures stimulated the Formosan Chinese to set up new factories themselves. Five wealthy men have established the Shinko Sugar Manufacturing Company near Toko with a capital of 240,000 yen, while others have formed the Nankan Sugar Company at Ako with a capital of 60,000 yen. Other sugar factories are already open at Toroku, Ensuiiko and Tainan, so that cane is now said to be becoming scarce. The far-sighted policy of the authorities in seeking to make sugar the principal Formosan industry is already bearing fruit. In another ten years the last of the old native sugar factories will have passed away, and a great and notable reformation in the methods of manufacture will have been effected. Numerous experiments which have been carried out show that in the southern parts of the island the cultivation of cane yields a greater profit than rice, amounting to as much as 12 yen per acre.

SUGAR MANUFACTURED AND IMPORTED BY JAPAN
(WEIGHT IN LB.).

Year.	Manufactured in Japan.	Imported.	
		From Formosa.	From other Countries.
1888	70,751,798	—	152,222,373
1889	86,630,173	—	166,222,345
1890	145,024,667	—	173,673,167
1891	83,497,442	—	167,531,523
1892	67,007,323	—	196,912,263
1893	81,410,579	—	214,855,484
1894	90,016,174	—	228,664,363
1895	73,889,417	24,371,900	248,342,039
1896	86,250,511	37,502,492	233,352,995
1897	71,762,660	34,531,016	331,451,282
1898	118,533,117	37,298,642	447,315,327
1899	159,936,912	35,501,220	282,346,574
1900	175,502,719	37,156,300	411,594,274
1901	168,911,755	43,212,145	495,338,418
1902	—	58,070,004	448,481,930

Note.—Before 1895 the imports from Formosa are included in those from other countries.

SUGAR EXPORTED FROM FORMOSA TO HONG KONG AND
OTHER PARTS OF CHINA.

Year.	Weight in lb.	Value in Yen.
1896	36,658,472	1,529,460
1897	35,872,015	1,494,042
1898	39,697,109	1,984,376
1899	30,064,233	1,586,945
1900	12,088,352	669,246
1901	17,839,109	1,031,314
1902	18,187,370	1,059,165

The amount of sugar consumed in Formosa in 1902 was 15,210,000 lb.

As about 90,000,000 lb. of sugar are now produced from about 62,000 acres of land, according to the law of proportion, about eight times as much land would produce sufficient sugar to supply all the requirements of Japan. The Formosan authorities state, however, that by using improved cane, fertilisers, and methods of cultivation, by better irrigation, and improvements in the manufacture, and by opening up new land, they hope within the next ten years to increase the present annual production fivefold. Even this large increase, however, will by no means meet Japan's needs. With such an extensive market, the prospects of the Formosan sugar manufacturers are very bright.

Most people know that sugar is produced from canes, and those who are better educated know that it can be obtained from sugar beets. Many other things, however, also contain sugar, as, for instance, maple, palm and sweet sorghum. Maple sugar is found only upon the tables of the rich. Nearly all the sugar on the market is either cane or beet.

Cane sugar is said to have been first used in China or India, but all statements on this point are open to doubt. Beet sugar is, however, a modern discovery. It first came into prominence when Carl Franz Gerhard, a pupil of Andreas Sigismund Marggraf, the German chemist, opened a factory at his master's suggestion at Schlegien in 1797, and has, therefore, been in use a little more than a century; still in this comparatively short space of time it has become universally known.

According to the Formosan Government's Third Report of the Sugar Business, the total annual output of beetroot sugar all over the world was less than 1,000,000 tons until 1870, but in 1900 it amounted to 5,500,000 tons, while during the same interval the quantity of cane sugar produced rose from 1,599,000 to 2,904,000 tons only. The beetroots, which gave only 6 per cent. of sugar at first, now furnish 15 per cent.; at the beginning of the nineteenth century they took 200 days to reach perfection, whereas now they take only 180 days. These figures put cane sugar somewhat into the shade, but the Formosan Government's report referred to above shows that it is much easier to cultivate sugar cane in the tropics than to grow beetroot in European countries, and the report further declares that the prospects for cane sugar are much more hopeful than for beet sugar. The present popularity of beet sugar is due to the efforts of the European nations to promote its production, and to the superiority of the methods adopted in its manufacture. Since the Brussels Conference has agreed that no more sugar bounties are to be given, the price of beet sugar has risen considerably. If, therefore, the methods of producing cane sugar are improved according to the principles laid down by the Formosan authorities, there is no doubt that our Formosan sugar will find a ready and almost unlimited sale, not only in China and Japan, but in all the markets of the world.

RICE.

When Formosa became a Chinese colony the Peking Government had no definite plans with regard to its industrial development. The Chinese immigrants themselves clearly designed to make the island a purely agricultural colony, all manufactured articles, even the clothing and china cups which they used, being imported from Amoy. Any attempt on the part of the islanders to establish industrial enterprises was checked at once by the strong competition of the Chinese merchants. The Fokienese, with their bare mountains and dense population quite out of proportion to the extent of the arable land, looked to Formosa for fuel and rice, and tried by every means in their power to make the island an agricultural colony. An old Amoy historical record, referring to the fearful scarcity of food

and fuel, says, "Even our straw and fuel come from abroad. Long-continued rain in the spring causes the people to feed on pearls and burn laurel boughs for fuel."

So the Chinese Government, as well as the Formosan officials, considered Formosa a great granary, and paid serious attention to the cultivation of the rice fields, while at the same time they were quite indifferent to all other industries. The fear of native competition must have had something to do with their aversion to embarking on any other industrial enterprise. According to the Amoy records, Formosa has always been noted for its damp climate; the soil was not cultivated at all, yet some districts yielded three crops and others four each year. At present scientific experts talk of the possibility of obtaining three crops each year by better methods of irrigation, and so it seems likely that the four crops spoken of in the above records are no exaggeration. Out of the island's present population of about three millions, 2,059,795 (1,118,316 men and 941,479 women) were, according to the statistics of 1904, engaged solely in farming. Thus two-thirds of the whole population are farmers, the majority of whom grow rice. The rice fields occupy the largest part of the cultivated soil. In 1904 about 1,088,000 acres of land were devoted to rice, producing 41,600,000 bushels in two crops.

RICE HARVESTS IN FORMOSA, 1899-1904.

Year.	Crop.	Area of Fields in Acres.	Upland Rice.		Glutinous Rice.		Total Harvest in bushels.	
			Water Rice.	Upland Rice.	Water Rice.	Upland Rice.	Each Crop.	Total.
1899	1st	875,238	10,803,815	542,070	789,730	75,375	12,210,990	20,529,695
	2nd		7,120,235	450,340	681,675	66,455	8,318,705	
1900	1st	814,201	9,482,400	456,750	676,900	30,795	10,646,845	21,500,270
	2nd		9,879,970	323,755	613,725	35,975	10,853,425	
1901	1st	883,474	17,533,140	733,310	1,160,010	77,930	19,504,390	30,658,380
	2nd		10,158,005	276,775	680,440	38,770	11,153,990	
1902	1st	862,541	14,175,410	458,660	882,505	39,140	15,555,715	28,214,230
	2nd		11,472,970	436,560	716,395	32,590	12,658,515	
1903	1st	987,252	16,964,540	1,458,315	1,095,385	80,115	19,598,355	36,772,070
	2nd		15,112,635	1,162,280	798,505	100,295	17,173,715	
1904	1st	1,087,928	18,747,295	1,301,840	1,076,900	77,355	21,203,190	41,598,620
	2nd		17,380,330	1,884,555	985,085	145,260	20,395,230	

The fertility of the soil varies in different localities, but the following may be taken as the standards :—

	First Crop per acre.	Second Crop per acre.
	Bushels.	Bushels.
Banshorio	47	30
Giran	34	42
Koshun	18	18
Shinko	41	59
Taichu	63	42
Taihoku	44	37
Tainan	29	33
Taito	24	30
Toroku	27	22
Toshien	26	24

It will be seen that the first crop varies from sixty-three bushels in Taichu to eighteen in Koshun, and the second from fifty-nine in Shinko to eighteen bushels in Koshun. The average for the whole island is forty-three bushels for the first crop and thirty-four for the second. Two and a half acres is about the average amount of land which one man is able to manage, as the methods of cultivation are very rough and imperfect. The Formosan authorities are spending every effort to improve the conditions by establishing experimental farms and employing experts to deliver lectures up and down the island, and it is confidently expected that good results will be seen in the near future. Indeed, these results are already beginning to appear in the higher prices realized for the rice and the improvement in its quality.

Besides rice, Formosa produces potatoes, peanuts and several cereals. Their production is considerable, as may be seen from the following table :—

Year.		Potatoes. Lb.	Peanuts. Bushels.	Beans. Bushels.	Sesame. Bushels.	Barley. Bushels.	Wheat. Bushels.	Millet. Bushels.
1898	Area of fields in acres.	113,648	64,156	27,672	16,657	—	51,175	—
	Harvest.	350,894,680	1,436,730	360,150	197,645	—	1,164,015	—
1899	Area of fields in acres.	96,015	36,858	34,527	11,002	—	15,879	—
	Harvest.	404,203,088	4,067,940	621,430	145,010	—	384,475	—
1900	Area of fields in acres.	99,646	28,898	27,560	16,706	3,587	4,503	21,588
	Harvest.	343,327,417	604,190	251,405	181,740	57,300	56,410	523,335
1901	Area of fields in acres.	132,745	30,669	27,225	21,192	931	3,618	19,090
	Harvest.	398,332,315	571,290	223,305	197,090	14,105	43,905	304,500
1902	Area of fields in acres.	153,131	32,350	28,103	22,194	1,040	7,544	18,699
	Harvest.	501,160,292	544,535	276,555	125,440	12,720	104,160	299,095
1903	Area of fields in acres.	177,959	37,929	33,795	24,546	1,588	8,897	21,051
	Harvest.	897,954,805	884,670	527,515	253,805	36,855	174,370	314,000
1904	Area of fields in acres.	226,236	47,682	37,216	54,904	3,955	15,270	17,450
	Harvest.	1,135,115,773	1,194,485	237,825	676,355	56,580	185,790	520,840

The above-mentioned products form the staple food of the inhabitants, most of the rice produced being given in payment of their rents and taxes.

EXPORTS OF RICE.

Year.	Exports Abroad.		Exports to Japan.
	Amount in Piculs.	Value in Yen.	Value in Yen.
1897	738,146	1,799,763	—
1898	749,646	2,168,339	—
1899	401,229	1,265,727	62,623
1900	760,046	2,276,360	93,119
1901	398,331	1,132,420	1,024,332
1902	632,816	1,915,785	1,608,186
1903	194,673	869,173	4,889,860

Though the area of the rice fields fluctuates somewhat, the export appears to be increasing year by year. The picul here mentioned equals 2.15 bushels. The above table gives the value of the rice exported to Japan, not the amount; this latter appears to have been about 1,000,000 bushels in 1902 and about 2,500,000 in 1903.

In proportion as Japan is becoming an industrial nation, it is impossible for her to satisfy all her own needs, and she

has to look to foreign countries to supply the deficiency; already she pays out about sixty million yen every year for imported food-stuffs. With such a large market near at hand, we cannot but hope that Formosa's agricultural industries may continue to flourish. The arable land in the island, according to the official survey, covers 3,136,000 acres. Of this, nearly 1,090,000 acres are devoted to rice, about 500,000 acres to sugar, potatoes, tea, etc., and the remainder, over 1,573,000 acres, is still unused in any way. Even though the Government exert all its energies to making sugar the staple industry, so vast an area cannot possibly be turned all at once into sugar plantations. The best plan to adopt would be to alternate the cultivation of sugar and rice; that would leave land enough for the further production of rice and other cereals. If better methods of cultivation and irrigation are employed, the fields which now only give one crop a year will produce two, while those which now give two crops may many of them be made to yield three. In the writer's opinion, Formosan rice is superior to Indian and Rangoon, and is well suited for general use in Japan.

Like everything else, the market price of rice fields in Formosa varies in different parts of the island. Generally speaking, they are worth 200 to 240 yen per acre in the Taichu district, 60 yen an acre round Toroku, and only about 50 yen an acre in the vicinity of Kyoshito. This difference is due to the fact that two crops of rice, with a leguminous crop between, can be raised on the same land each year in the districts north of Taichu. To the south of that district, however, on account of poor drainage and irrigation, only one crop can be looked for in the year; from the most fertile land the farmers, after paying all expenses, such as taxes, wages, fertilisers, seeds, etc., realize a profit of only 8 to 12 yen per acre. In most parts of Japan irrigated rice fields are expected to yield 5 per cent. on the capital, and this general rule holds good also in Formosa.

CHAPTER XVI.

COMMUNICATIONS—MAILS, HARBOURS, AND SHIPPING.

Bad condition of roads in former times—Present remarkable change—Formosan railway—Unsuccessful private and successful Government attempt to build the railway—Fares and rolling stock—Table of railway returns—Other lines built and planned—Communications between Formosa and Japan—Failure of competing lines—Government subsidies and regulations—Tables of voyages, tonnage, etc.—Lack of good harbours—Plans and progress—Importance of Kelung—The claims of other ports—Government action for the protection of seamen—Table of lighthouses—Postal system, early difficulties—List of offices, etc.—Telegraphs and telegraphic arrangements—Telephones and wireless telegraphy—Government losses and reasons for the same.

ROADS AND RAILWAYS.

AFTER Formosa had passed into our possession the thing which most surprised Japanese visitors was the difficulty of travelling from one part to another, there being nothing in the whole island worth calling a road. There were paths leading from village to village; there were some country roads connecting the towns with the surrounding villages; but it was impossible to find anything like a State or Government road from town to town. This absence of good roads was due to the imperfect political unity of different parts of the island. State as well as commercial relations were confined within very narrow limits, the villages depending on some small town which they had taken as their centre. Even the country roads above mentioned which ran from village to village were not like those in Japan, but were rather boundary lines round the farms, being in most cases little more than a foot wide. Travellers were obliged, therefore, either to walk or go in chairs. In some of the sugar districts in the south there were roads which were used by buffalo carts transporting sugarcane, but as they belonged to the sugar planters, they were

private property, and closed to the public. Our army experienced so much inconvenience from this absence of roads that they were compelled to widen them wherever they passed; indeed, they may be said to have been the first road-makers in the island. After the military administration had come to an end, the civil administration devoted much energy to this question, so that now there is a good wide carriage road, which may be called the Formosan State road, running right through the island from north to south. There are also many smaller roads, that may be called district roads running from town to town, and also connecting the different villages with one another. Even the roads which connect the smaller villages have been widened, so that carts can now pass easily.

There are now 5,922 miles of roads which may rightly be called public roads. Of these 2,899 miles are under 6 feet wide; 2,154 miles under 12 feet; 593 miles under 18 feet; 220 miles under 24 feet, and 56 miles over 24 feet wide. There are also 3,339 bridges under 30 feet wide; 315 over 30 feet; 69 over 129 feet, and 7 over 300 feet wide, making 3,730 bridges in all. The island is now well provided, horses and carriages being able to pass wherever there are any houses. The greater part of these improvements were carried out between the years 1898 and 1902. The change in so short a time is indeed astonishing, and the success of the civil administration deserves a more general recognition, especially when it is understood that the Formosans themselves were induced to contribute their land or work by a system of local taxation in kind.

It seems incongruous that there should have been a railway in Formosa though there were no roads to speak of—the fact shows how very enthusiastic Liu Ming-chuan was for reforms. Through lack of funds and political opposition he was not able to carry the line through from north to south as he had intended. The work was under weigh from 1887 to 1893, but during those seven years not more than sixty-three miles from Kelung to Shinchiku were completed. Even this portion was very imperfectly done, as the Chinese who superintended the American engineers were quite incompetent, and continually interfered with the latter. The Japanese engineers who inspected the line found to their amazement that it was quite

unprovided with signals, the incline was too great—in nine places in the ten miles between Kelung and Taihoku the rise was over 1 in 20; the curves were also too short, most of them being only three and a half chains in length. The engines weighed twenty-five tons and the rails thirty-six lb., while most of the bridges were of wood. The passenger fares were not fixed, varying each day according to the number of passengers. When the Japanese army entered the island this line was used by them, and a temporary one was also built from Hozan to Takow in the south, besides a road northward from Shinchiku. Formosan Chinese were employed to push the carriages along these lines.

In June, 1896, Japanese capitalists combined to establish the Formosan Railway Company, and applied for permission to build a road right through from the north to the south of the island. This the Government granted, and handed over to the company the railroad already opened between Kelung and Shinchiku on the understanding that the latter should keep it in repair as well as complete the whole line. The company, however, when they saw that the undertaking would never pay, surrendered all their rights. When Viscount Kodama was appointed Governor-General, he resolved that the Government itself should take up the work of repairing and extending this railroad. He therefore presented a memorial to the Thirteenth Session of the Japanese Diet, requesting financial support, and the Diet having authorised an expenditure of 28,800,000 yen, the work was commenced in 1899. The old line from Kelung to Shinchiku was mostly entirely relaid, the incline being reduced to less than 1 in 40, and five tunnels constructed with a total length of 4,624 feet, all of which added considerably to the safety of the line. A new line from Taihoku to Tamsui, a little more than thirteen miles long, was started at the same time and completed in August, 1901. At the same time the construction of the line was started south of Shinchiku, and from Takow in the south. In June, 1905, when these pages were written, the whole line was completed throughout the 259 miles from north to south, except that temporary bridges were in use for crossing the Daikokei, Daiankei, Dakusuikei, and one or two other large streams. Permanent bridges are in course of construction over all these

ivers. The third class fare from Kelung to Hakukoko is 2·87 yen, from Hakukoko to Toroku, 1·92 yen, and from Toroku to Takow, 2·22 yen; so the whole fare from north to south is 7·01 yen. The journey occupies fifteen hours and seven minutes, the train leaving Kelung at 6 A.M. and reaching Takow at 9·7 P.M. What a difference this is compared with a few years ago, when those who lived at opposite ends of the island were quite strangers to one another. At present there are five trains a day each way between Kelung and Taihoku, six each way between Taihoku and Tamsui, while three trains leave Taihoku each day for the south.

At the time the island passed into our possession, twelve locomotives were in use weighing under thirty-five tons apiece, some being of English make and others of German. The Formosan authorities purchased nineteen others, including twelve radial-tank engines of English make, and four four-wheeled coupled side-tank engines of American make. There are now thirty-one locomotives altogether. There are also eighty-seven large and small passenger carriages, and 426 brake vans and goods trucks. The woodwork of all these was made in Formosa. In the north the engines burn Formosa coal obtained from the coal mines near the line, but in the south Japanese coal is generally used, because owing to the high cost of carriage it is no dearer than Formosa coal.

The receipts from the railway were at first very small, but now, thanks to the careful management of the authorities and the increase of freight receipts, the line pays its own way.

RAILROAD RECEIPTS.

Year.	No. of Passengers.			Passenger Fares in Yen.			Freight Receipts.	Total Receipts.
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.		
1897	24,112	—	241,030	30,030	—	146,115	56,446	232,591
1898	18,734	—	299,430	21,806	—	158,336	107,286	287,428
1899	22,031	—	371,538	25,759	—	177,829	138,161	241,749
1900	22,160	—	430,925	27,662	—	211,445	169,748	408,855
1901	39,918	—	752,953	35,872	—	296,706	183,138	515,716
1902	44,044	4,213	950,210	39,783	1,044	378,306	302,916	722,049
1903	43,372	—	1,154,272	40,404	—	471,673	449,506	961,583

COMMUNICATIONS—MAILS, HARBOURS, ETC. 257

Besides the main railway there are several light hand-railways. These run between Tokatsu and Ujitsusho (11 miles), between Rokko and Shoka ($7\frac{1}{2}$ miles), between Takow and Hozan (6 miles), between Hihachisui and Rinkiho ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles), and between Tainan and Anping. Plans have also been made for constructing light lines between Banshorio and Nanshiko (20 miles), between Hozan and Ako (11 miles), and between Giran and So-o (15 miles). Until these lines are finished travellers have to go either on foot or in chairs, as the Chinese do, no jinrikishas being found outside the large towns. The palanquins are, however, very comfortable, and the traveller who rides in them nearly always drops asleep. The writer has tried them, and considers them remarkably well suited to the sleepy Chinese mandarins.

COMMUNICATIONS BY SEA.

Since Formosa passed into our possession the sea routes have undergone most remarkable changes. Up to that time the carrying trade between Tamsui and Amoy was monopolised by the Douglas Steamship Company, a British firm, and no other vessels could compete. Formosa has of course other ports besides Tamsui, as for instance Takow, Anping, etc.; but, as these places have no harbours, the vessels were obliged to load and unload outside; consequently most of the transportation business to these places was done by Chinese junks.

The Government has now subsidised and contracted with the Nippon Yusen Kwaisha and the Osaka Shosen Kwaisha to do the carrying business between Japan and Formosa, visiting all the ports on the Formosan coast. There are now six regular sailings each month between Formosa and Japan. Those ports on both sides of the island, which have hitherto had no means of communication with other parts, are now visited regularly four times a month, thus bringing the whole island into close connection with Japan, and making the people even in the remotest regions feel that they have the support of our Government.

Nor have the authorities been content to stop there; they have also arranged for fixed sailings between Tamsui and Amoy and between Swatow and Hong Kong, so that the flag of the

Rising Sun is seen along the Chinese coasts. The Douglas Company, which had for so long the monopoly of the carrying trade between Formosa and the mainland, has now been shut out, except that they still send one or two boats to Tamsui during the tea season. Our authorities pay out five or six hundred thousand yen a year in subsidies, which is not an exorbitant sum when we consider the benefits it confers all round.

I cannot help, however, taking exception to the terms of the Government contract, seeing that it demands a speed of only ten knots an hour. I believe the time has arrived when an ordinary speed of at least thirteen knots should be insisted on between Kelung and Japan, while the vessels should be able to make sixteen knots. Moreover, the companies should not be allowed to put vessels on this route which have already been in use over twenty years. The line pays better than any of the other subsidised lines, and the Yusen Kwaisha have lately made one extra voyage a month, showing that it would not be difficult for them to increase the speed of their vessels. I need not enlarge on the fact that there are two things which contribute much to colonial success; first, bringing the colony as near to the mother-country as possible, and second, increasing in every possible way the comfort of the voyage.

LIST OF SUBSIDISED LINES.

Routes.	Number of Voyages Required.	Tonnage and Speed.	Subsidy in Yen.	Contractor.
Kelung to Kobe via Moji Takow to Yokohama via Anping, Kelung, Nagas- aki, Moji, Ujina and Kobe Kelung and So-o to Anping, and back to Kelung along the Eastern Coast Kelung and Tokatsukutsu to Pescadore and back to Kelung via Anping along the Western Coast	Twice a month " " " "	{ Over 2,500 tons and over 9 knots { Over 1,500 tons and over 10 knots { Over 1,200 tons and over 10 knots { Over 1,000 tons and over 10 knots	59,208 59,208 124,864 143,825	Nippon Yusen Kwaisha Osaka Shosen Kwaisha " " " " "
Tamsui to Tokatsukutsu Tamsui to Hong Kong via Amoy and Swatow Anping to Hong Kong via Amoy and Swatow Fuchow to Amoy, Swatow and Hong Kong Fuchow to Santuso Fuchow to Hingfwa Amoy to Sibehiao	{ Four times a month from April-Sept. { Three times a month in Oct. and March { Twice a month from Nov.-Feb. { Four times a month from April-Sept. { Three times a month from Oct.-March Twice a month Four times a month " " Five times a month	Over 150 tons Over 1,200 tons and over 10 knots Over 1,000 tons Over 1,200 tons and over 10 knots Over 7 knots " Over 30 tons	500 93,937 61,028 52,353 11,700 13,942 14,936	Kinsaburo Kada Osaka Shosen Kwaisha " " " " " "

Some slight changes have been made in the routes, and also in the amounts of the Government subsidies, as may be seen from the following table:—

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
Subsidised routes . .	7	7	8	12	12	11
Number of voyages . .	228	168	198	198	380	244
Mileage traversed . .	332,004	320,868	332,016	387,363	387,363	324,792
Tonnage	669,600	643,200	650,400	752,400	766,800	586,800
Number of vessels used .	11	9	13	18	18	16
Total subsidy in yen .	514,500	514,500	700,000	798,069	808,599	664,209

The total tonnage of all vessels, including the above, which have entered and left Formosan ports from 1898-1903 is as under:—

CLEARED FROM FORMOSAN PORTS.

Year.	Steamers.		Sailing Vessels.		Chinese Junks.		Total.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
1898	1,715	1,021,854	15	1,871	13,377	202,006	15,106	1,225,731
1899	2,465	1,112,679	39	2,593	16,636	294,747	19,140	1,410,019
1900	2,876	2,715,303	97	8,606	20,860	1,593,513	23,833	4,317,422
1901	2,974	2,136,457	21	10,625	32,537	245,100	35,532	2,392,175
1902	2,254	1,524,394	8	449	22,453	230,791	24,715	1,755,634
1903	2,342	1,952,576	298	6,954	30,339	558,615	32,979	2,518,145
1904	2,221	1,268,887	133	21,551	35,796	349,363	38,150	1,639,801

ENTERED FORMOSAN PORTS.

Year.	Steamers.		Sailing Vessels.		Chinese Junks.		Total.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
1898	1,727	1,032,003	12	1,871	13,746	202,962	15,485	1,236,836
1899	2,444	1,112,729	36	3,494	16,644	291,612	19,124	1,407,835
1900	2,266	2,645,411	88	8,099	20,984	1,631,548	23,338	4,285,058
1901	3,000	2,224,992	22	10,705	33,941	311,544	36,963	2,567,241
1902	2,244	1,521,348	11	575	30,454	238,995	32,709	1,760,918
1903	2,343	1,947,377	379	6,516	30,399	563,734	33,121	2,517,627
1904	2,215	1,271,677	135	21,851	36,322	354,834	38,672	1,648,362



TAKOW HARBOUR LOOKING SEAWARDS.

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TRANSPORTING MAIL DURING FORMOSAN WAR.

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HARBOURS.

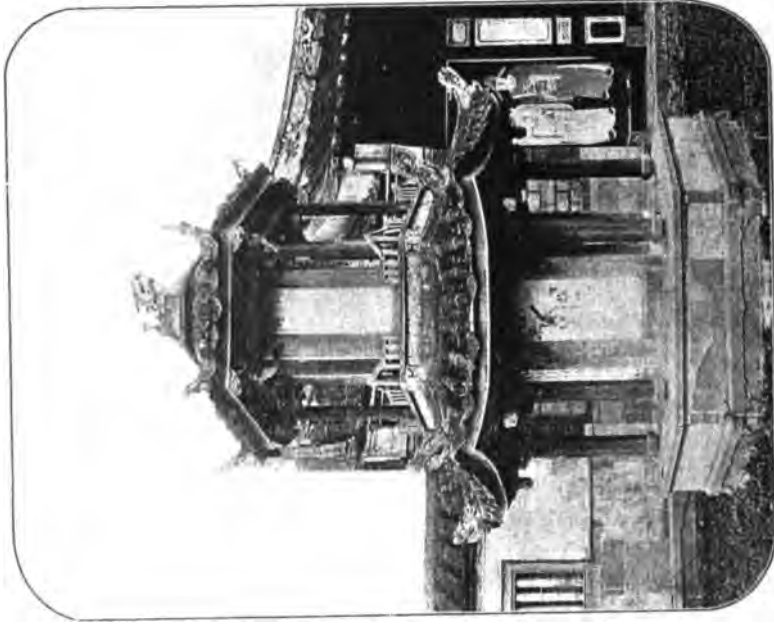
One of the greatest drawbacks to Formosa is that there are no good harbours. No trace can be found that the Chinese made any attempt to improve the accommodation for ships anywhere except at Kelung. Indeed, Kelung may be said to be the only port in the island. It has at low tide an area of nearly 300 acres where the water is 24 feet deep, but only a small part of this can be used, the rest being covered with sunken rocks. Only seven vessels of 3,000 tons and four of about 4,000 tons can be accommodated at once, and that only when the sea is calm. During the storms which are so frequent in the autumn and winter months, with a north or north-east wind, the inside of the harbour with its northerly entrance is quite as dangerous as the outside, and nothing can then be done to prevent the shipwrecks which so often take place. From 1898 to 1901 five steamers, one foreign sailing ship, nineteen junks and fifty-four fishing boats were wrecked inside the harbour.

For the above reason the Formosan authorities saw the necessity of constructing good harbours, and some years ago the appropriations for the work were duly passed by the Diet, and the work has been put in hand. A breakwater 3,990 feet long is to be built with an entrance 900 feet wide. This will enclose over 400 acres with a depth at low tide of 30 to 100 feet, over 100 acres with a depth of 26 to 30 feet, and over 40 acres with a depth of 9 to 26 feet, so that when the work is completed the harbour will afford good anchorage for 16 vessels, however stormy and rough it may be, besides allowing two large vessels of five or six thousand tons each to be moored at the wharf. The work of dredging is now progressing gradually.

One day, while I was at Taihoku, I heard that the ss. *Gaelic* had come in, and was moored at the wharf at Kelung. It is said that the place where the wharf now is was until recently a mere shallow shoal which any one could easily wade across. Now there stands a wharf 400 feet long, where big vessels can moor without difficulty, and continue loading and unloading in all weathers. This is a wonderful improvement. The full plan for the construction of the harbour is not yet

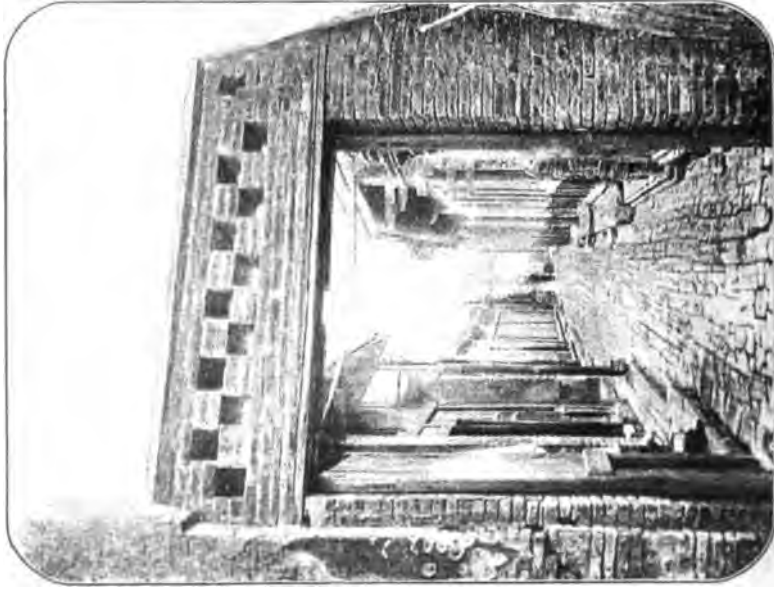
settled, therefore the work has not yet been properly put in hand. The work of dredging may be considered one thing and that of harbour construction another. It is clear, however, that unless jetties are built and the necessary breakwaters constructed, the dredging work which is now being performed with so much labour will not afford protection on stormy days to large vessels; to leave the harbour thus unfinished would be like spending many months and days in painting a dragon and then omitting to finish his eyes. I sincerely hope, therefore, that the Japanese authorities will take such measures as will ensure the speedy construction of the harbour.

I have already said that Kelung may be counted the only port in Formosa. Of the vessels that come in and go out from the Pescadores and Formosa each year, numbering 4,500 or 4,600, with an aggregate tonnage of 3,500,000 tons, about one-ninth, with about one-fifth of the tonnage, enter and leave Kelung. If, for instance, we look at the statistics for 1904, we see that 522 vessels with 696,123 tonnage entered and left Kelung. From this fact it is quite clear that the enterprise of constructing a really safe harbour there is a necessary work, and not a useless luxury. Some may say that harbour construction is in no way urgent when once the port has been well dredged, but I should like the people with ideas of that kind to visit the port some day when a north-west gale sweeps over the island. The second time I visited Formosa was in June, 1905, and, though our transport weighed 2,600 tons, we could not enter the harbour on account of the north-westerly storm, but instead were tossed to and fro for twenty-four hours about eighty miles off, near Edincote Island, to the no small discomfort and inconvenience of all the passengers. It will no doubt be an expensive matter to make a good harbour. The British spent 25,000,000 yen on the harbour at Capetown, and the Dutch nearly 30,000,000 yen for the same purpose in Java; they did not hesitate to expend such large sums, though neither of the ports seemed likely to be brought into very close contact with the respective home countries. The wisdom of this expenditure was justified, and contributed largely to the success of the colonies. I would, therefore, have our authorities, as well as the nation at large, follow the generous example of these two nations. In order to carry out this work, the Formosan



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SACRED TOWER.



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OLD STREET IN ROKKO.

Government intends to float a loan, and as the island purposes to bear the whole responsibility herself, there is no reason why Japan should interfere in the matter in any way.

After Kelung the port of Tamsui is the best, but it is by no means good. There are many shallows, and at low tide there is a depth of only 13 feet, so that all vessels of 1,000 tons and over which arrive there at the wrong time have to wait for the tide. Even at high tide vessels over 1,000 tons cannot anchor inside. The ports along the western coast are Tokatsukutsu, Rokko, Shajo, Taianko, Takow, Anping, etc. They can hardly be counted as harbours, for at these places the bottom is shifting sand, and vessels are apt to get aground when the tide falls. The port of So-o on the eastern coast has a fairly good harbour. The water is deep and not disturbed by sudden storms, but the place is too rocky to be entirely safe. Hinan Seikoko and Karenko may also be mentioned, though they are only ports without harbours. Vessels trading with Formosa are generally obliged in a storm to run to the Pescadores for refuge, where the Bay of Bako affords a secure retreat.

LIGHTHOUSES AND LIGHTSHIPS.

The Formosans have from prehistoric times been accustomed to appropriate everything which they found washed up along their shores. Whenever men or women happened to come ashore, a knock on the head from a piece of wood stopped any awkward questions. Occasionally, however, the lives of these unfortunates were spared, and they were retained as slaves. It made little difference whether they fell into the hands of the Formosan Chinese or the savages.

In 1900 the Formosan authorities issued regulations concerning a Relief Fund to assist those who were shipwrecked off the Formosan coasts, and decided to adopt the same regulations as are now in force in Japan. They have, moreover, given much attention to the question of lighting the coast, and have placed buoys where necessary.

VOYAGE SIGNALS.
I. LIGHTHOUSES AND LIGHTSTAFFS.

Name.	Position.	Longitude.	Latitude.	When first Lighted.	Construction.	Class and Quality of Light.	Height from Foundation to Light.	Height from Water Surface to Light.	Visible.
Bitokaku Light-house . . .	Bitosho, Sanchobo, Kelung	121 55 0	25 8 0	1st Feb., 1897	Iron, hexagonal, white	Class 4, revolving white light	41 ft.	211 ft.	19 m.
Kelung Light-house . . .	Kelung	121 44 25	25 9 14	1st April, 1900	Brick, cylindrical, painted white	Class 5, fixed white light	28 ft.	133 ft.	15 m.
Fukukaku Light-house . . .	Shiransanpo, Robai-sho, Taihoku	121 31 30	25 18 30	20th April, 1897	Iron, octagonal, painted with black and white horizontal lines	Class 2, fixed white light	100 ft.	161 ft.	19 m.
Tamsui Light-house . . .	Tamsui	120 55 0	25 13 0	1888	Iron, square, painted white	Class 6, fixed white light	45 ft.	32 ft.	9 m.
Tamsui Lightstaff	Tamsui	121 42 0	25 11 0	1888	Iron, painted white	Class 6, fixed white light	35 ft.	142 ft.	10 m.
Anping Lightstaff	Anping	120 9 48	23 31 0	1891	Square, iron bar	Class 6, fixed white light	33 ft.	37 ft.	10 m.
Takow Light-house . . .	Takow	120 16 0	22 36 0	1883	Brick, square, painted white	Class 6, fixed white light	16 ft.	164 ft.	10 m.
Garambi Light-house . . .	Southern promontory of Koabun	120 51 0	21 55 0	1883 Relighted 10th May, 1898	Iron, round, painted white	Class 1, fixed red and white light	59 ft.	180 ft.	20 m.
Hakushako Light-house . . .	Chikuhokujihō, Shin-chiku	121 3 0	25 3 0	15th Jan., 1901	Brick, cylindrical, painted white	Class 3, revolving red and white light	74 ft.	122 ft.	18 m.
Gyoto (Fisher Is.) Lighthouse . . .	South-western extremity of Pescadores	119 28 0	23 33 0	1865 Relighted 27th Mar., 1895	Iron, round, painted black	Class 4, fixed white light	33 ft.	205 ft.	15 m.
Kitashima Light-house . . .	Northern extremity of Pescadores	119 35 20	23 47 17	15th June, 1902	Iron, round, painted with black and white horizontal lines	Class 1, revolving white light	120 ft.	158 ft.	19 m.

II. BUOYS AND STAFFS.

Name.	Place.	Colour.	When Established.	Shape.	Height above Water.
North Bar Buoy	Northern side of bar in the entrance to Tamsui Port	Black	8th March, 1899	Iron cone with cylindrical top	12½ feet
South Bar Buoy	Southern side of above bar	Red	28th "	" triangular "	"
Harbour Buoy	Northern side of southern shoal in Tamsui Port	Red	4th "	" " "	"
Inflexible Rear Buoy	Inflexible Rear, Kelung	Black	19th Dec., 1898	" cylindrical "	"
Coral Shoal Buoy	East of shoal, Kelung	Red	" "	" triangular "	"
Bush Island Staff	Western extremity of Bush Island, Kelung	Black	Uncertain	Wooden staff	42 feet
Foon Buoy	On the bar at entrance to Bako, Pescadores	Red	14th Aug., 1902	Iron cone with cylindrical top	30 feet

III. ALARMS.

Name.	Position.	Kind.	When Established.	Remarks.
Gyoto Lighthouse Alarm (Fisher Island)	Cape Rishitta, Pescadores	Gun	Uncertain	If a vessel signals in a dense fog, the gun is fired twice, with five minutes' interval between each shot, and repeated after ten minutes if necessary. The whistle is blown for five seconds every minute in dense fog or dark storm. Its sound can be heard four miles off in calm weather. If a vessel signals in a fog, the gun is fired twice, with three minutes' interval between each shot, and repeated after eight minutes if necessary.
Fukukaku Light-house Alarm	Northern extremity of western coast	Whistle	15th March, 1899	
Garambi Lighthouse Alarm	Garambi, Koehun	Gun	Uncertain	

POSTAL SYSTEM.

Since 1896, when the civil authorities took over the administration, they have adopted the same postal system as that in Japan, both with regard to domestic and foreign postal business. There had indeed been postal institutions from the time of Liu Ming-chuan, but as the postal department was in the same corrupt state as the rest of the administration, the people could place no dependence upon it, and many remained quite ignorant of its benefits. To correct false impressions, our authorities, in February, 1897, issued a small book setting forth the benefits of the postal system, and explaining why the Government had monopolised the communications. Since that time the people have learned by experience that the Government is to be trusted and the postal business has gradually increased.

This development, however, has not been attained without painful sacrifices. The brigands interrupted the postal lines, and did their utmost to kill the men in charge of the mails. At first police protection was afforded, but as it proved insufficient, military guards were employed. Even then the postal officials were often exposed to much danger. Now, however, since the suppression of brigandage, there has not been the slightest obstruction, and mail matter is delivered all over Formosa with as much regularity as in Japan. The system extends from Kelung in the north to Koshun in the extreme south, and along the eastern coast through Taito back to Kelung. Wherever there exists any means of communication either by sea or land, except only through the savage territory, mail matter is now delivered. The fifty-two miles between Karenko and So-o is traversed by sea alone. Mail matter may even be sent to the savage localities, provided that the sender understands that it is not delivered by postmen, but is detained at the post office until called for by the receiver.

COMMUNICATIONS—MAILS, HARBOURS, ETC. 267

POST OFFICES, ETC., IN FORMOSA.

Year.	Post and Telegraph Offices and Branch Post Offices.	Sub-Branch Post and Telegraph Offices.	Post and Telegraph Receiving Offices.	Agencies Selling Post Cards and Stamps.	Pillar Boxes.	Number of Packages of Mail Matter Collected in Formosa.	Number of Packages of Mail Matter Delivered in Formosa.
1896	29	—	3	45	80	—	—
1897	46	—	25	80	140	6,791,106	7,368,678
1898	46	—	25	118	178	7,412,894	7,750,685
1899	46	37	5	142	214	8,385,242	8,666,874
1900	60	43	8	177	254	11,584,144	11,266,378
1901	70	46	9	201	303	14,665,000	15,739,334
1902	66	43	8	369	498	12,754,807	17,947,765
1903	62	47	10	511	609	13,792,551	17,162,807
1904	59	52	12	547	726	15,512,209	16,302,842

Some years ago the foreign mails were all sent by way of Japan, but now, with the exception of what still has to go that way, they are sent direct *via* Amoy or Hong Kong. All the postal rates are the same as those charged in Japan, except that the parcel post charges are twenty sen dearer.

TELEGRAPHS.

In 1897 the total length of telegraph lines was only 871 miles, but in 1904 it was 2,700 miles. In 1897, 823,000 domestic telegrams were received and despatched, but in 1904 they had increased to over 985,000. In 1899 the Department of Communications purchased the submarine cable between Formosa and Foochow, and the receipts from this line were equally divided between that department and the Formosan Government. There is also another cable connecting Formosa with the Pescadores, and also a line between Kelung and Naha, the capital of the Loochoo Islands. Newspaper correspondents will be interested to learn that in 1902 the authorities issued a special regulation with regard to press telegrams, according to which all inland telegrams sent by newspaper correspondents to their respective offices are charged ten sen per message, with an additional charge of three sen for every five additional letters.

TELEPHONES.

It may surprise some Japanese to be told that telephones and wireless telegraphy are already in use in Formosa. The

residents of Taihoku, Tainan, Taichu and Kelung already enjoy the convenience of telephones. Wireless telegraphy is made use of between Taito and Garambi.

In countries where the general state of living is high, the organs of communication are an important source of Government revenue, but where the general state is low, it is inevitable that they represent a serious loss. Formosa is in the latter condition, and the following table shows the amount of loss the Government has to bear each year:—

Fiscal Year.	Disbursements in Yen.	Receipts in Yen.	Loss in Yen.
1899	875,119	441,390	433,729
1900	967,030	511,174	455,856
1901	993,249	536,842	456,407
1902	915,609	563,048	352,561
1903	953,077	645,335	307,742
1904	910,514	827,187	83,327

The reasons for the high cost of this department are: the officials in Formosa receive higher salaries than those holding similar positions in Japan, besides receiving extra emoluments; travelling is much more expensive than in Japan; the men employed in the Third Class Post Offices in Japan are not provided by the Government with uniforms, whereas they are in Formosa; and lastly, in Japan the telegraph posts last about seven or eight years, whereas in Formosa they have all to be renewed every three years.

CHAPTER XVII.

FOREIGN TRADE—COMMERCE AND EXCHANGE WITH JAPAN.

Effect of local conditions on prices—Prices of staples in chief towns compared—Differences due to difficulties of transport—Position of the merchants—Producers in the clutches of Chinese and foreign merchants—Facilities of communication established under Japanese rule—Impending revolution in trade organisation and relations—Progress of exports and imports—Japan Formosa's chief customer—Comparison of trade between Japan and Formosa—Value of imports from Japan—Summary of the values—Former banking methods—Institution of Japanese banks—Currency standards—Gold standard proposed—Amount of money in circulation—What the Bank of Formosa has done—Establishment of native banks—Extortionate rates of interest a check on enterprise.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

IN some of the lower forms of animal life the whole body is not controlled by one central system of nerves, but each portion of the body has its own separate system. If such an animal is cut in half, or even in three, each portion continues to live. Similarly, there exist in the undeveloped lower stages of society many small political and economic centres, each one standing by itself and receiving no commands from the central government. Such was the state of Formosa under the Chinese régime. The villages of a district, with some town as their centre, would form themselves into a community with similar customs and manners, and governing themselves without reference to the outside world. This was especially true with regard to all commercial matters. If the reader will study the table given below, and compare the prices charged for the same commodity in different districts, he will find it difficult to believe that such wide differences can exist within the compass of one small island. In Taihoku the price of unhulled rice is 5.36 yen per bale, whereas at Kagi it is 3.20 yen. Coal worth 37 sen at Taihoku costs 1 yen at Kagi. These examples are

enough to show how far prices are controlled by local conditions, without reference to a common centre.

COMPARISON OF PRICES.

Name of District.	Unhulled Rice.			Sweet Potatoes.	Fowls.	Coal.
	Superior.	Medium.	Common.			
Taihoku . . .	5'36	5'22	5'09	'96	26'87	'35
Kelung . . .	5'57	5'35	5'10	1'	25'75	'35
Hobe . . .	5'21	5'	4'13	1'18	32'	'43
Shinchiku . . .	4'92	4'75	4'66	'75	23'	—
Taichu . . .	—	3'07	—	'31	21'17	—
Bioritau . . .	3'93	3'51	3'11	'66	—	—
Shoka . . .	3'96	3'80	3'63	'45	19'50	'70
Tainan . . .	5'10	4'75	4'47	'62	22'50	1'
Kagi . . .	3'20	2'92	2'77	'55	18'75	1'
Hozan . . .	3'21	2'95	2'82	'97	32'	—

N.B.—The price given for rice is per Koku of 5 bushels, that for the other articles per 100 Kin, equal to 133 lb.

If the transport facilities were as good as in Japan, the Kagi rice now selling at 3'20 yen would be sent at once to Taihoku, where it would fetch 5 yen; and those places where coal now sells at 1 yen would import from other places until they had abundance for all their needs. Improved communications would tend to make prices more uniform. But in Formosa the merchants, who in former times when there were no railways, or telegraphs, or any such means of communication, used to charge for their wares any prices they chose, still keep to their old customs, and though the conditions have changed entirely, the prices still differ greatly in different localities. This one fact will throw much light on the present condition of the island.

The local country merchants at present are despotic rulers, so to speak, in their own business circles; though they treat their city customers with deference, as soon as they go into the country they begin to lord it over the farmers, expecting everybody to bow down to them. They fix their prices arbitrarily, without regard to the natural law of supply and demand. One would imagine that they with their large profits were all men of wealth, but such is not actually the case. The

truth is that the large Formosan landowners receive some share of these profits, the rest and the largest share going into the pockets of the wholesale Chinese merchants in Fokien. For this reason there are but few men in Formosa with sufficient capital to develop or even manage their own businesses. Most of the commercial undertakings are carried on by companies, the larger ones being really owned by foreign merchants in China or elsewhere, who naturally absorb all the gains.

The merchants' way of doing business with the farmers is cruel in the extreme. They advance the latter all the money they require for working their farms, receiving from them in return a mortgage on the crop, whether it be tea, camphor, sugar or rice. Once a farmer gets into the clutches of a merchant, there is little likelihood of his being able to cast off the fetters all his life. As the loans come chiefly from Hong Kong, Amoy and Shanghai, the economical conditions in Formosa are entirely governed by the merchants on the mainland, and the profits go, not to the Formosans, but into the pockets of rich Chinese, Englishmen or Americans. Formosa has for centuries exported large quantities of rice and tea, and for the last thirty or forty years camphor and sugar, the prices and quantities of which have increased each year; yet the state of the country shows that the owners of the rice fields alone realize any profit to add to their hoards, while all the plantations and farms are left in the hands of poverty-stricken farmers, who, on account of their straitened circumstances, are quite unable to make any improvements.

But such conditions cannot go on for ever; to-day there are telegraphs to report the prices of commodities in other places, railways to transport the goods north and south, and banks to promote the circulation of capital. Even the silver coins which the natives had buried have begun to flow into the market. These new elements will revolutionise the commercial conditions prevalent hitherto, and it seems to me that the revolution is not far off. Wherever our political influence extends, we are endeavouring to change the customs and habits of the natives in this respect. A change has already taken place in that the Japanese goods, which have hitherto been imported through Hong Kong and Amoy, now come direct from Japan, and many of the exports to foreign countries are

now sent by way of Japan. The natives, who used to wear clothes of Chinese manufacture, and live on food grown in China, are now beginning to use Japanese manufactures. The trade relations between Formosa and Japan are becoming closer and closer, and at the same time Formosa's business dealings with other countries are making remarkable progress, adding rapidly to the island's wealth. These facts may be seen from the following tables:—

**TOTAL AMOUNT OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS (GOODS ONLY),
COMPARING YEAR WITH YEAR (VALUE GIVEN IN YEN).**

(Excepting 1896, not including goods sent to or received from Japan.)

Year.	Exports.	Imports.	Total.	Excess of Exports.	Excess of Imports.
1896	11,402,227	8,631,001	20,033,228	2,771,226	—
1897	12,759,294	12,659,298	25,418,592	99,996	—
1898	12,827,190	16,875,405	29,702,595	—	4,048,215
1899	11,114,921	14,273,092	25,388,013	—	3,158,171
1900	10,571,285	13,570,664	24,141,949	—	2,999,379
1901	8,298,800	12,809,795	21,108,595	—	4,510,995
1902	13,816,868	10,100,532	23,917,400	3,716,336	—
1903	11,078,321	10,772,373	21,850,693	305,949	—
1904	12,391,124	12,838,442	25,229,567	—	447,319

COIN AND SPECIE.

1896	2,077,577	5,414,507	7,492,084	—	3,336,930
1897	2,377,559	5,941,094	8,318,653	—	3,563,535
1898	4,112,552	6,058,211	10,170,763	—	1,945,659
1899	2,487,781	3,568,867	6,056,648	—	1,081,086
1900	2,823,405	1,492,313	4,315,718	1,331,092	—
1901	1,705,369	1,170,235	2,875,604	535,134	—
1902	950,874	4,430,856	5,381,730	—	3,479,982
1903	940,230	1,454,323	2,394,553	—	514,093
1904	1,195,973	494,801	1,690,774	701,172	—

FOREIGN TRADE

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DETAILED LIST OF GOODS EXPORTED FROM FORMOSA (VALUE IN YEN),
COMPARING YEAR WITH YEAR.
(Not including goods sent to Ysphen except in 1896.)

	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Oolong tea	5,854,019	{ 6,445,120	4,723,451	4,186,703	2,996,002	6,033,224	5,323,938	5,054,450
Wrapper tea		460,910	526,733	630,949	505,062	480,683	639,535	716,299
Rice	913,292	1,799,763	1,264,727	2,276,360	1,132,420	1,915,785	854,561	2,536,362
Sesame	35,117	25,544	31,180	61,342	213,883	30,883	—	60,981
Brown sugar	1,093,539	1,146,821	1,217,922	452,724	678,370	698,327	82,586	56,773
White sugar	435,921	347,221	566,454	216,522	352,944	360,838	137,783	166,751
Camphor	2,247,930	1,329,116	1,732,740	2,385,645	789,290	2,849,132	2,518,305	2,199,320
Sulphur	1,798	1,791	12,821	16,686	34,356	47,023	50,937	63,553
Turmeric	29,564	52,831	125,587	128,733	91,187	61,039	19,580	—
China grass and other fibres	219,079	353,400	298,497	368,654	382,798	389,135	485,564	458,316
Coal	16,542	23,866	75,214	95,906	134,655	115,568	75,686	75,215
Coal for ships	6,521	6,990	22,277	38,802	50,033	70,892	70,472	84,723
Oil cake	29,464	69,727	101,872	77,203	124,477	66,500	48,158	69,575
Pine-apple fibre	13,532	14,149	16,520	18,471	26,166	34,159	26,003	23,239
Pith paper	11,008	12,804	15,388	15,509	10,850	13,595	18,028	—
Re-exported articles	98,220	93,872	136,248	137,002	80,256	149,412	33,137	34,361
Various unenumer- ated articles	305,781	575,261	398,599	466,074	696,051	500,673	694,048	791,206
Total	11,402,227	12,759,394	11,124,921	10,571,285	8,298,800	13,816,868	11,078,321	12,391,124

VALUE OF IMPORTED GOODS (VALUE IN YEN).
COMPARING YEAR WITH YEAR.
(Not including Imports from Japan except in 1896.)

	1894.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Flour	218,899	217,684	338,621	334,656	335,541	339,728	326,778	388,573	296,686
Meal and starch	752	529	551	35,957	27,601	33,475	41,479	39,564	38,843
Fresh and dried fruits and nuts	20,069	41,979	54,955	70,480	60,440	59,019	41,311	38,612	40,335
Condensed milk	35,846	40,362	46,494	41,263	39,711	42,559	31,135	43,320	43,075
Crude salt	28,935	36,629	59,950	51,602	110,137	41,555	—	24,322	22,976
Salt fish	67,666	116,082	170,753	153,724	89,201	113,045	81,053	107,132	82,030
Vegetables, fresh, dried, salted	11,672	21,266	51,134	37,842	30,362	30,968	33,654	58,434	60,939
Lily roots	17,066	41,411	46,423	35,846	24,565	28,411	24,891	48,577	52,294
Mushrooms	36,383	63,553	76,939	38,033	51,369	56,034	53,849	43,566	15,545
Shrimps	90,021	107,573	108,308	61,021	71,986	24,282	13,986	21,111	—
Vermicelli	60,441	124,961	189,839	113,578	95,678	86,647	82,533	92,695	102,517
Soja beans	91,585	113,299	152,383	107,849	112,150	76,806	95,465	137,838	106,078
Other beans	765,834	182,249	870,609	258,068	41,728	13,643	19,265	23,131	17,492
Rice	89,804	270,673	413,999	218,892	167,383	229,832	376,892	746,881	823,119
Refined sugar	411,951	788,641	1,357,906	449,981	84,756	401,245	91,549	—	255,868
Tobacco, cut	1,540	13,589	14,428	26,259	116,891	242,684	207,153	296,849	347,600
" leaf	110,316	125,356	86,762	58,089	53,436	70,472	71,625	136,900	134,924
Ginseng	1,164,856	1,570,347	2,044,392	2,775,809	3,324,602	2,310,425	1,476,693	1,121,455	2,866,117
Opium	7,386	6,169	24,218	22,006	17,526	12,236	23,142	33,307	111,243
Liquid indigo	10,989	11,228	6,263	24,708	24,131	13,540	17,645	22,261	24,238
Chinese lacquer	27,088	20,887	6,301	20,972	84,500	34,047	64,630	105,135	11,015
Pea-nut oil	24,574	119,143	133,369	95,549	45,481	9,461	—	—	—
Kerosene in tins	370,671	723,674	714,851	694,217	1,156,053	728,350	776,934	805,669	1,028,672
" in bulk	—	—	—	—	43,004	112,720	34,016	—	—
Tea oil	1,141	12,096	13,988	17,834	25,950	33,344	19,273	20,256	17,184
Ginned cotton	50,043	103,340	107,027	68,430	76,024	67,892	84,458	58,508	90,989
Cotton estins	16,007	30,655	58,260	90,834	157,061	197,496	168,813	279,280	306,344
Calico, bleached	230,915	173,540	202,433	180,482	185,761	185,250	158,865	144,595	169,975
" unbleached	258,170	342,976	322,286	221,844	293,556	278,104	251,637	274,617	303,540
" coloured	12,027	10,084	14,474	15,095	19,578	22,411	34,795	44,816	33,889

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Various union marts.	1,040,975	1,370,978	611,811	589,653	685,929	579,134	285,479	1,442,900
Other " "	87,641	58,701	46,422	56,676	44,446	60,005	—	—
Camlets, figured, striped and plain.	96,132	125,640	129,107	110,475	118,842	75,818	108,453	60,980
Woolen cloths.	46,343	43,250	44,781	34,047	37,626	19,144	22,350	21,880
Silk fabrics not included above	142,103	246,817	60,666	44,631	78,896	68,820	—	129,677
Hemp fabrics	33,387	77	6,320	15,120	18,946	—	153,948	142,329
Linen "	12,034	134,189	89,324	101,362	147,017	187,212	216,671	190,655
Chinese grass cloth	86,997	319,384	203,997	185,323	142,179	151,887	47,016	—
Blankets	20,141	42,909	33,413	38,838	38,708	17,645	32,195	69,144
Chinese shoes	38,969	84,056	62,316	58,361	70,264	60,582	59,950	64,496
Iron pans	—	78,779	71,793	60,637	88,537	70,662	82,770	97,455
Rails	—	—	—	188,438	909,116	—	236,152	163,929
Lead	79,634	105,155	94,805	111,081	108,680	100,166	105,666	115,488
Gold silver-leaf, powder, etc.	7,890	17,986	14,261	35,774	25,409	34,769	44,511	—
Chinese paper	190,617	284,866	338,020	307,826	228,446	257,654	237,094	290,965
Hogs	179,009	1,009,498	660,549	562,126	408,170	380,854	358,699	210,317
Lard, tallow and grease	9,547	33,233	96,011	38,547	35,263	31,661	23,060	43,570
Boards for tea boxes	74,467	86,640	84,219	84,462	87,605	85,616	95,805	108,860
Timber and boards	144,940	719,643	535,323	538,183	430,261	433,178	395,384	—
Oil cake	29,294	26,531	38,243	97,553	74,797	54,542	72,903	—
Tiles	9,916	34,930	58,115	68,648	52,213	31,574	24,616	35,424
Fireworks	23,550	68,621	37,273	54,406	56,569	33,763	47,569	23,717
Income sticks	46,704	91,712	64,044	71,820	75,138	61,833	32,772	37,190
Straw matting for packing	24,980	48,334	48,628	26,841	74,885	139,516	137,222	130,795
Hempen sacks	24,694	109,722	12,740	27,021	22,865	17,848	26,548	—
Paper foil	—	233,759	207,724	337,070	384,376	274,573	246,137	—
Earthenware and porcelain	37,617	164,772	107,416	121,139	133,664	133,554	136,535	190,663
Steamships	33,000	120,525	47,667	56,120	688,913	300,544	—	45,580
Re-imported articles	10,949	428,039	803,903	200,699	91,005	32,281	40,134	14,167
Various unenumerated articles	2,403,575	3,037,457	1,604,317	1,743,663	1,809,479	1,532,618	2,276,393	3,173,423
Total.	8,631,001	12,650,298	14,273,102	13,570,664	12,809,795	10,040,532	16,772,372	12,838,443

As may be seen from the following tables, Formosa's trade with Japan is increasing more rapidly than that with other countries. This difference does not come about because Japan is following the policy, adopted by Spain and France, of not allowing the colonies to use foreign-made articles other than those manufactured in the mother-country. The growth is natural, and everything points to a still greater increase in the near future.

TRADE BETWEEN FORMOSA AND JAPAN (VALUE OF GOODS IN YEN), COMPARING YEAR WITH YEAR.

Year.	Imports from Japan.	Exports to Japan.	Total.	Excess of Imports.
1897	3,723,722	2,104,648	5,828,370	1,619,074
1898	4,266,768	4,142,778	8,409,546	123,990
1899	8,011,826	3,650,475	11,662,301	4,361,351
1900	8,439,033	4,402,110	12,841,143	4,036,923
1901	8,782,258	7,345,956	16,128,214	1,436,302
1902	9,235,290	7,407,498	16,642,788	1,827,792
1903	11,194,788	9,729,460	20,924,248	1,465,328
1904	10,156,311	10,431,307	20,587,619	274,996

Note.—It will be seen that in 1904 the exports exceeded the imports.

Details of the above are given in the following tables :—

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DETAILED LIST OF GOODS EXPORTED TO JAPAN (VALUE IN YEN),
COMPARING YEAR WITH YEAR.

	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Brown sugar	1,745,876	1,537,838	2,243,453	3,042,379	2,154,139	3,438,524
White sugar	—	—	49,145	130,028	16,780	352,823
Oolong tea	—	—	684,749	228,289	299,130	191,979
Beans	—	713	14,119	20,976	—	19,849
Table salt	—	49,858	87,448	122,178	63,687	133,533
Edible marine lichen (Tokoroten)	—	—	36,609	36,021	20,255	12,125
Rice	62,623	93,119	1,004,332	1,608,186	4,889,860	3,544,580
Wheat	—	—	—	—	125,530	55,377
Camphor	292,261	945,384	1,571,496	869,418	570,654	858,603
Camphor oil	1,074,530	962,643	1,325,836	921,536	1,113,376	1,235,684
Sulphur	424	20,801	2,069	24,150	17,029	—
Turmeric	3,324	20,939	10,210	15,872	—	—
Hides	22,334	57,048	60,970	52,541	40,102	25,119
Re-exported articles	—	153,516	182,778	211,191	290,476	301,090
Various unenumerated articles	446,101	554,141	52,302	124,733	168,442	262,221
Total	3,650,475	4,402,110	7,345,956	7,407,498	9,729,460	10,431,397

DETAILED LIST OF ARTICLES IMPORTED FROM JAPAN (VALUE IN YEN).
COMPARING YEAR WITH YEAR.

	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Candy	1,937	3,489	24,449	14,935	18,490	19,675
Sugar	1,696	8,541	11,976	52,136	155,626	169,407
Green tea	14,716	20,252	35,270	28,768	27,359	27,801
Canned goods	305,506	123,240	100,404	68,331	80,184	94,501
Pickles	36,927	75,325	64,734	57,386	63,458	46,615
Soy	162,776	132,943	187,955	163,853	159,733	149,442
Miso (cake made of beans, wheat)		56,673	75,778	75,536	64,001	52,359
Fresh and dried greens	9,597	24,737	29,025	31,998	37,881	17,275
Other dried vegetables	93,130	79,007	59,758	27,394	33,583	38,205
Perch		47,835	74,172	74,065	108,935	138,432
Dried and salted fish		125,405	163,911	98,494	192,928	239,194
Dried bonito	98,522	19,928	29,094	18,950	22,270	19,612
Other marine products		2,118	74,372	149,446	204,772	152,067
Cleaned rice	868,713	545,410	500,503	488,794	453,552	339,989
Beans		35,248	50,656	28,363	35,322	25,379
Other kinds of grain	28,549	44,335	48,915	57,269	26,078	12,626
Flour	300			57,766	46,558	55,264
Sake, clarified			661,429	541,745	597,089	540,747
" bottled	586,511	625,805	58,840	116,042	85,931	76,752
Beer	165,212	212,470	213,755	201,544	159,094	148,450
Foreign wines			36,824	15,884	32,002	27,289
Other spirits	23,962	21,274	15,830	29,451	25,040	—
Other eatables and drinks			44,355	26,613	60,524	41,257
Cigarettes		3,892	490,994	490,614	755,108	442,574
Cut tobacco	252,208	512,866	121,134	141,498	89,506	94,980
Gunpowder and explosives		27,156	13,882	23,171	43,415	46,868
Medicines		100,341	110,420	96,116	103,037	206,187
Kerosene	283,834	37,480	49,860	10,890	79,043	42,042
Other kinds of oil	56,006	82,855	53,840	48,458	123,540	148,734
Manufactured cloth		2,851	14,537	10,785	129,896	34,181
Cotton thread			90,047	15,910	92,597	101,459
Cotton fabrics			717,355	1,036,221	1,354,574	1,211,395
Woollen thread	280,316	367,128	4,618		—	11,756

Woollen fabrics	—	36,418	16,321	37,070	52,400
Silks	—	36,665	26,156	49,730	37,620
Other fabrics	—	41,958	41,862	—	60,731
Other threads	—	—	20,541	13,798	13,585
Clothing and accessories	—	68,436	42,383	84,264	84,057
Clocks and accessories	1,450	2,420	15,196	14,780	22,770
Nails	—	20,032	17,669	16,555	24,017
Hardware, etc.	159,971	118,123	42,775	87,441	58,592
Machinery	—	144,104	—	270,014	—
Metal goods	—	24,884	113,039	143,878	116,713
Pig iron	—	—	163,791	84,978	87,296
Other metals	2,023	39,853	62,890	—	91,551
Earthenware and porcelain	22,103	40,867	39,360	53,515	30,714
Window glass	26,477	53,108	29,161	27,586	29,593
Glass manufactures	—	40,284	10,250	20,481	34,018
Lacquer ware	4,154	21,307	17,185	26,639	11,421
Freight and passenger cars	—	—	49,000	65,750	47,970
Locomotives	—	2,500	15,000	—	—
Rails	—	37,980	64,554	14,576	47,195
Sleepers	—	178,417	31,513	121,686	88,340
Other railway material	—	23,265	—	—	—
Boots and shoes	22,347	10,427	14,628	10,447	13,519
Japanese footgear	190	56,246	39,245	50,296	65,097
Soap	20,412	23,483	16,808	10,228	21,870
Matches	—	210,121	243,489	320,054	232,552
Coal and coke	40	63,186	47,031	118,504	75,238
Timber and boards	576,799	785,068	705,637	858,377	759,971
Carts and jinrikisha	18,540	18,712	30,130	44,329	42,732
Foreign paper	—	46,326	78,510	86,620	95,020
Other kinds of paper	62,422	140,549	145,317	102,127	177,434
Telephones and telegraphic apparatus	—	9,935	45,293	—	61,069
Other instruments	114,559	130,023	111,972	275,347	245,344
Cement and lime	67,790	98,878	215,328	—	—
Bricks and tiles	160,987	35,302	—	—	—
Furniture, trunks, etc.	2,069	39,543	10,369	23,579	23,113
Various unenumerated articles	3,477,165	2,109,027	2,407,451	2,700,733	2,622,301
Total	8,011,866	8,782,258	9,235,290	11,194,788	10,156,311

If we combine all the above tables, we shall be able to see the total exports from Formosa to foreign countries, as well as to Japan. The total value in 1897 was 14,863,942 yen; this had risen to 21,224,366 yen in 1902. The imports in 1897 were 16,383,020 yen, and in 1902 these amounted to 19,335,822 yen; that is to say, during these six years the exports increased by 6,360,424 yen and the imports by 2,952,802 yen. If we reckon the population in 1902 at about three millions, the value of the exports will average 7.07 yen per head, and the imports 6.44 yen.

Considering all the circumstances, these amounts compare very favourably with the trade of Japan seven or eight years ago. Looked at merely from the standpoint of our profit and loss, I can see no reason for us to regret having occupied Formosa.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

As the ruling spirit of commerce and foreign trade, the island has hitherto had a kind of banking system, or rather Discount Offices, where copper cash could be exchanged, in addition to one or two agencies of foreign banking houses. The Discount Offices were patronised by those merchants whose headquarters or shareholders were in Hong Kong, Amoy or Shanghai. On presenting a draft at one of the offices the merchant received 993½ Formosan dollars for each 1,000. These offices were also in the habit of advancing money to tea producers and such-like people, receiving payment in kind when the season came round. The majority of them were really usurers who gathered together the local capital and prevented its circulation in the district.

After the Japanese occupation the Thirty-fourth Bank, which has its headquarters at Osaka, opened a branch at Taihoku, and a little later the Government established the Bank of Formosa, which seems to have benefited the moneyed classes. The Bank of Formosa has a capital amounting to 5,000,000 yen, of which half is paid up. As this is the financial institution of our Government, its credit is very high, and its notes have a wide circulation.

When Formosa came into our hands there was no special currency; Hong Kong and Mexican dollars, as well as copper,

were used, and the cash value of these coins, to the great inconvenience of the users, was decided according to their relative weights. At that time the situation was somewhat eased by the fact that Japan herself was using the silver standard. But, in 1897, when the gold standard was adopted by Japan, much inconvenience arose in the business transactions between the two countries. Formosa, being then unable to adopt the gold standard, was made an exception; accordingly in July, 1898, orders were issued that in Formosa one silver yen should pass unconditionally at current rates fixed by the Governor-General. Hence the Governor-General was obliged to do bankers' work, and publish the current rate whenever any change was made. A further order was issued that only the Japanese silver yen, which bore the special official chop, could be used for paying taxes and duties. The Bank of Formosa also began issuing paper notes convertible into silver. They succeeded in recalling all the bad silver currency which had been in circulation, but losses were frequent owing to the fluctuations in the exchange rate of silver.

On the 1st of July, 1904, having decided that the gold standard should be adopted in Formosa as soon as possible, the Government allowed the Bank of Formosa to issue new paper money, hoping thereby to remedy the losses arising from the frequent changes in the value of silver. The natives' love of gold and silver being almost as intense as their craving for food, it is well-nigh impossible in a few weeks or months to make paper notes the medium of circulation.

In May, 1902, according to the returns, the unclipped Formosan silver yen numbered 23,657,428, the supplementary Japanese silver coins amounted to 1,345,798 yen, foreign silver coins to 3,228,856 yen, nickel coins to 223,000 yen, and notes issued by the Bank of Formosa to 3,353,631 yen; so the total amount then in circulation was 31,808,713 yen. To change the standard it would be necessary to issue notes convertible into gold amounting at least to 25,000,000 yen, and in order to do this we must have at least 7,000,000 or 8,000,000 yen on hand in gold. I should much like to see this accomplished if it is practicable.

The establishment of the Bank of Formosa has been the subject of much criticism, and there are many changes which

I would suggest. It has, however, been the means of giving the island a dependable currency, besides teaching the Formosans the pecuniary advantages that accrue from putting their money into circulation, instead of letting it lie idle in the seclusion of their strong rooms. One day I bought some silk in Amoy, but finding I had run out of silver money, I presented a Bank of Formosa note. The shopkeeper accepted it after a mere glance. A thing like that could not be done for any bank which was not backed by the Government.

The establishment of this bank led to another being opened, the Agricultural and Commercial Bank of Formosa. This was the result of the united efforts of the wealthy merchants in Formosa, who conduct the business of the bank on a capital of 100,000 yen. There is, in addition, the Formosa Savings Bank.

In spite of the facilities afforded by these banks, the rates of interest remain very high, from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 sen per day, with an occasional drop to 3 sen, being the general rule. On private guaranteed loans among the Japanese the highest rates of interest per month are 6 per cent., and the lowest just under 5 per cent.; without security the highest rates are 7·3 per cent. and the lowest 6·1 per cent. That is to say, a yearly interest of 72 per cent. would have to be paid for money borrowed on security at the highest rate. The Formosan Chinese, however, charge each other still higher rates. The lowest rate of interest is 14 per cent. per month and the highest 15 per cent.; borrowers would therefore have to pay a yearly interest of 180 per cent. for money borrowed on security at the highest rate. Without security they would have to pay 19 per cent. per month, or 228 per cent. per annum.

In a country like this, with such high rates of interest, no enterprise worthy of note is to be expected. Having personally known many cases where our Japanese compatriots have borrowed money from the natives and found it to be a pitfall from which they could not extricate themselves, I could not help feeling sorry for them.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SANITATION.

Good sanitation imperative in colonies—Formosa's bad record—Marvellous improvements—The water supply—The prevention of disease—Hospital arrangements—Medical faculty subsidised by the Government—Native medical students—Causes of apparent increase of disease—Statistics.

IT is remarkable how much attention is at the present day devoted by modern Governments to the sanitary conditions of their subjects. Indeed I do not think it would be wrong to say that the degree of civilisation attained by a people may be measured by the success of its sanitary administration. This is particularly true of tropical colonies, where epidemic diseases and malaria are the most formidable enemies man has to contend with. Most tropical countries are sparsely populated; they have neither the capital nor the men required for the exploitation of their resources, so one of the first duties of the administration is to encourage immigration and attract investors. This, however, is out of the question until the country is cleared of epidemic and malarial diseases; in the meantime industries remain stagnant for want of labour and funds. Moreover, in a newly conquered country, to put down possible risings a garrison must be retained, the health and efficiency of which necessitate a constant fight with epidemics. From whatever side therefore we look at it, in a country situated like Formosa, the first question that calls for the attention of the authorities is that of sanitation.

Unfortunately the island has a very bad record, his Imperial Highness Prince Kitashirakawa having succumbed at Tainan to an attack of malarial fever, and many others having either died of epidemic diseases or been forced to leave quite broken down in health. As the tables of statistics showed such a high death rate, the people of Japan imagined that Formosa

must be a most unhealthy country. In addition to this, those Japanese who went to the island, but failed to succeed in the battle of life, brought back a bad report of the land which tallied all too well with the people's already preconceived ideas. Thus eastward from Osaka, Formosa came to be dreaded more than if it had been infested with evil spirits. In the districts west of Osaka, what with the ships from Formosa which were coming in and going out all the time, and the men and women who were returning, there were not a few who knew the real state of things; but even there, in those districts which had but little communication with the island, people had an extremely poor opinion of its sanitary condition.

When I left for the island in May, 1904, my friends all thought I was risking my life foolishly, and said if I stayed more than a month I should be sure to catch malarial fever. They therefore advised me, if I intended to stay so long, to lay in a good supply of quinine pills, and begin taking them one or two days before landing. Up to that time I had not looked upon the island as specially unhealthy, but my friends' words caused me to modify my opinion. I took an evening train from Kelung to Taihoku, and, being badly bitten by mosquitoes, I could not help feeling somewhat troubled when I remembered how people said that malaria was carried by mosquitoes.

After reaching Taihoku, but more especially on going south, I found that all the hearsay reports I had heard, all that Formosan savants had told me in Tokyo and all my own imaginings, were nothing more than bad dreams several years old. I then came as it were to myself, and was surprised to find everything so different from what I had expected. I at once wrote to my friend in Tokyo saying that I had found the heat not at all unbearable and the sanitary conditions so satisfactory that I was quite willing to send my children to the island.

I expected to find all the large towns in Formosa built like the ones in China, with narrow streets 10 or 15 feet wide, swarming with young pigs, the streets overflowing with filthy water and laid irregularly with stones of all shapes and sizes, and all the drinking water mixed with sewage. But I found all were built after the European style and had wide streets, as clean as the best in Tokyo. Some are even better



RAILWAY STATION AT TAIHOKU.



FESTIVAL AT DAITOTEI (TWATUTIA).

than any to be found in Tokyo because they are properly macadamised. The main roads in Taihoku are from 50 to 60 feet wide, the cross roads 30 feet. At each side is a pavement for foot-passengers 12 feet wide, and between these and the carriage road run drains 1 or 2 feet wide built after the Singapore style, and all connected with one another, to facilitate the carrying off of rain-water and drainage. All these great improvements are the outcome of the revision of the municipal boundaries. According to this revision all within the old city walls forms the central part of the new city, and from this centre roads go out in every direction. The work on the central part is just about finished, and it is said that many of the main roads in the outer portion are also completed.

Hitherto the people of Taihoku have been drinking the water from the Tamsui River and also that from shallow wells. Liu Ming-chuan understood something of the danger of this, and brought over mechanics from Japan to dig some artesian wells, but only very few were finished. Our authorities have therefore given much attention to this question, and, by employing steam-power to drive the boring machines, they have already completed 800 wells. One such well like that in Daitone will give 17,000 cubic feet of water in twenty-four hours. For the time being the question of the drinking water supply has been well solved; and to prepare for the future, investigations are now being made as to the best way to construct waterworks.

When I walked through one of the old narrow streets near the centre of the city, Baron Goto pointed out to me a small house, saying: "That was my official residence when I first arrived, so you can imagine how dirty the houses of the lower officials must have been. Thus it was but natural that there should be so much illness among them; but now we have new official residences, all built on sanitary principles, whether they be large or small." With these houses and the wide clean streets of to-day before me, I found it hard to imagine what the city had been. But these improvements in the sanitary conditions do not stop at Taihoku. In Kelung the authorities spent 460,000 yen in 1899 in constructing waterworks, bringing down good clear water from the upper parts of the river

Kelung. At Tamsui, also, the waterworks were completed in the same year. Now there is no need for any one in these districts, which are naturally perhaps the worst in Formosa, to fall ill through drinking bad water. Shoka also is provided with waterworks. At Kagi men are now at work laying pipes to bring the water from the Hasshokei into the town. At Giran an artesian well about 500 feet deep has been dug and gives abundance of good water. Tainan and Taichu have already been half rebuilt in accordance with the new municipal regulations. Both these towns, as well as Takow and the Pescadores, have prepared plans for waterworks, but in no case has the work been yet commenced. In short, in all the leading towns steps are being taken to stamp out the diseases caused by the use of bad water.

There are other diseases, however, which reach man through intercourse with others. In order to stop the introduction and spread of these, Regulations for the Prevention of Infectious Diseases have been issued. At the same time, the local elders have been induced to co-operate with the central authorities in carrying out preventive and disinfecting measures. Provision has been made for medical inspections on the railway. At Kelung and Tamsui quarantine stations and hospitals have been erected, and in all the southern ports emergency quarantine stations have been opened. The quarantine examinations are not carried out in a loose and slipshod way, but scientifically with bacteriological tests. I visited the Pest Prevention Office at Tainan and inspected all the appliances. I saw hundreds of suspected rats being dissected in the dissecting room and the results examined under the microscope, while in another room I saw the cultivations of the plague bacteria. Thus it will be seen that the whole subject is being treated according to the very latest scientific methods.

In spite of the thoroughness of the preventive measures adopted, they sometimes fail to prevent disease, and so physicians are also a necessity. The authorities, therefore, drew up regulations with regard to hospitals, and in June, 1898, one hospital was opened in each of the following ten places, *vis.*: Taihoku, Kelung, Giran, Shinchiku, Taichu, Kagi, Tainan, Hozan, Taito, and also in the Pescadores. However conservative and pig-headed the natives may be, they cannot help being



TAMSUI WATERWORKS.

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BAMBOO RAFT CROSSING RIVER NEAR KOROTON.

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struck with the benevolence thus shown them by the administration. Before I saw the hospital at Taihoku, I made a trip to the south, and stayed one night at Taichu. I expected to leave early the next morning, but Dr. Fujita, the head of the hospital there, pressed me so much to come and see the hospital, that at last I agreed to go, though it upset all my arrangements. Contrary to my expectations, I found the hospital well fitted up considering the needs of the district and the amount it had cost. One cannot help admiring such an equipment. The water used in the patients' rooms, the drinking water, as also the water used for cooking purposes and that used in the town, is all examined. There is a staff of nurses, and interpreters are on hand for the convenience of native patients. All the food and drink given to the patients is kept in specially made boxes to ward off flies and other insects, and these boxes are placed in a room the floor of which is cemented. Most of the patients in this hospital are Japanese, but recently the natives have begun coming as well, convinced of the efficacy of the medicines used. I saw one native there who was suffering from opium poisoning, and I was greatly interested in the very careful explanations which the doctor gave me showing that opium poisoning was not incurable. If an out-of-the-way place like Taichu has such a good hospital, you can understand how it will be in general throughout the island.

Besides this, seventy-one doctors have been sent to different parts of the island; they act as health officers and attend to their own private practice as well. They are divided into three grades according to the prosperity of the towns where they are stationed. Those in the first grade receive 60 yen, those in the second 50 yen, and those in the third 40 yen a month. They also receive 10 yen monthly to repay them for the medicines they give free, and 5 yen each month towards their house rent. There are also a number of men assisting in the hospitals, and thus preparing themselves to become district doctors. Most of the present staff have been appointed from among these assistants. Besides the public hospitals there are twenty-five public and private hospitals. Including the doctors in these, there are 109 qualified physicians who support themselves by private practice and receive no assistance whatever from the Government.

To provide for the recruiting of the medical profession, the authorities have established a medical school at Taihoku exclusively for native students. It is my opinion that among the many measures of the sanitary administration, this one will produce the greatest results. The reason why the statistical returns show such a high death rate, is that the ignorant natives do not yet appreciate the benefits of medical science, and also that, however much the Japanese doctors may exert themselves, they are unable, owing to the strong race feeling which exists, to get as much practice as the Chinese doctors. Those Chinese doctors who have been given licences for the time and are allowed to practice under the name of medical students number 1,742. None of them are acquainted with modern European medicine, and many are cunning quacks who do much harm by prescribing regardless of the nature of their patients' complaints, often showing themselves in this respect even more ignorant than ordinary men. For the sake of the public health as well as for political reasons, the authorities consider it important to replace them, as speedily as possible, by other Chinese who shall have received a thorough medical training.

Wishing to see the Chinese students at work, I paid a visit to the Medical School. When I called, one of the professors was showing the students the effect of electrifying a toad's leg. I noticed that the manuscript of the lecture on physiology, which their teacher had prepared and which the students were looking over, was written in mixed script the same as is used all over Japan. I asked Dr. Takagi, the Principal of the school, what progress the students were making with their studies, and also how they were received by the people when they took up practice. He gave me very favourable answers on both these points. "Their success is certain," said he, "for though there are to-day a large number of Chinese doctors, most of the people place but little confidence in them and do not send for them when they are ill, but go instead to the temple and cast lots before the gods. They then use grass or bark or roots or whatever the lot directs. Another favourable augury is that those of our graduates who are already in practice are getting on very well indeed." After going through the dormitory, I collected the highest class and said to them: "On you rests the responsibility of extending civilisation in this land,

because civilisation must be brought in by means of the beneficial effects of medical science. I earnestly desire, therefore, that you may succeed, for being Formosans, you are really able to help your people more than any one else can." I may also add that as a security against adulteration all medicines are specially tested before being sent out.

The sanitary improvements I have mentioned above ought, one would think, to have materially lessened the death rate, but this good result is not yet visible in the statistics. On the contrary, the number of deaths, as will be seen from the tables given below, shows a yearly increase, or at any rate no decrease. This is what we most grieve over, but those who read these figures must remember that in former days the Formosans were suspicious of Japanese officials and doctors, and so concealed their disease, whereas now they come most willingly. To this must be largely ascribed the apparent increase in the number of deaths appearing in the statistics. A certain military doctor, who is thoroughly conversant with the conditions which prevailed some years ago in Taihoku and Taichu, said to me one day: "When these two cities were surrounded as they used to be on all sides with flourishing forests, the infectious bacteria accumulated to an amazing extent. But now that the forests are gone and the mosquitoes have no hiding-places, the sanitary conditions are vastly improved. It is strange, however, that the statistics do not show better results." These words hold true of other cities also.

If we tabulate separately the deaths among the garrison, some light will be thrown upon the successful results of our sanitary efforts. I think, too, that when the soldiers move into their new barracks, which have all the windows covered with fine wire netting to keep out the mosquitoes, their general health will show a marked improvement. These new barracks ought to have been ready by the end of 1904.

HEALTH OF THE GARRISON.

Year.	Total No. of Patients.	Total No. of Deaths.	Patients per 1,000 Garrison.	Deaths per 1,000.
1897	62,927	671	4.098	43
1898	53,517	649	3.840	46
1899	41,558	441	3.443	37
1900	42,747	371	3.526	30
1901	33,667	261	2.598	20
1902	22,553	178	1.963	15

	Epidemic Diseases.			Diseases Affecting the General Development and Nutrition of the Body.	Diseases of the Skin and Muscles.	Diseases of Joints, Bones and Ligaments.	Diseases of the Circulatory System.	Diseases of the Nervous System and Senses.	Diseases of the Respiratory Organs.	Diseases of the Digestive Organs.	Diseases of the Genito-urinary Organs.	Accidental Deaths.	Poisoning.	Causes Unknown.	Total.	Consumption (included in Diseases of the Respiratory Organs).
	Malaria.	Bert-beri.	Others.													
Japanese males	330	158	124	13	5	4	6	28	52	82	13	79	—	35	929	14
" females	60	2	40	10	2	2	5	4	17	16	9	3	—	10	177	5
1897 Total	390	160	164	23	7	6	11	32	69	98	19	82	—	45	1,106	19
Formosan males	512	28	341	415	200	171	139	165	432	368	130	115	—	2,532	5,578	55
" females	334	9	108	303	123	123	129	127	287	328	163	45	—	1,909	4,088	38
Total	846	37	449	718	323	294	268	292	719	726	293	160	—	4,441	9,666	93
Grand total	1,236	197	613	741	330	300	279	324	788	824	312	242	—	4,486	10,772	112
Japanese males	217	87	130	34	7	10	26	18	59	79	7	40	7	18	739	22
" females	69	8	47	19	5	5	9	10	25	38	17	5	—	13	270	9
1898 Total	286	95	177	53	12	15	35	28	84	117	24	45	7	31	1,009	31
Formosan males	1,424	75	1,089	901	412	291	282	489	1,264	911	211	504	50	2,514	10,417	138
" females	967	45	772	727	263	182	352	392	788	699	271	242	27	1,930	7,657	18
Total	2,391	120	1,861	1,628	675	473	634	881	2,052	1,610	482	746	77	4,444	18,074	219
Grand total	2,677	215	2,038	1,681	687	488	669	909	2,136	1,727	506	791	84	4,475	19,083	250

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Japanese males	258	191	138	60	3	12	39	37	58	70	9	53	2	21	951	27
" females	127	18	95	49	—	6	42	38	35	37	21	4	—	14	486	16
1899 Total	385	209	233	109	3	18	81	75	93	107	30	57	2	35	1,437	45
Formosan males	2,827	109	1,803	955	501	350	414	574	1,633	1,599	184	434	1	3,711	15,095	291
" females	1,843	45	1,665	685	255	221	596	447	1,102	1,066	289	167	3	2,897	11,301	213
Total	4,670	154	3,468	1,640	756	591	1,010	1,021	2,735	2,665	473	601	4	6,608	26,396	504
Grand total	5,055	363	3,701	1,749	759	609	1,091	1,096	2,828	2,772	503	658	6	6,643	27,833	549

Japanese males	223	51	196	138	10	12	21	61	60	86	7	45	2	16	888	27
" females	84	8	45	94	3	5	14	53	45	60	11	9	—	14	445	19
1900 Total	307	59	201	232	13	17	35	114	105	146	18	54	2	30	1,333	46
Formosan males	4,348	232	1,657	1,718	1,266	978	938	1,192	2,917	2,930	1,223	506	2	6,819	26,726	526
" females	2,873	84	1,346	1,436	856	588	1,237	958	2,457	2,554	1,263	163	—	5,107	20,922	369
Total	7,221	316	3,003	3,154	2,122	1,566	2,175	2,150	5,374	5,484	2,486	669	2	11,926	47,648	895
Grand total	7,528	375	3,204	3,386	2,135	1,583	2,210	2,264	5,479	5,630	2,504	733	4	11,956	48,981	941

JAPANESE RULE IN FORMOSA

	Epidemic Diseases.			Diseases Affecting the General Development and Nutrition of the Body.	Diseases of the Skin and Muscles.	Diseases of the Bones and Joints.	Diseases of the Circulatory System.	Diseases of the Nervous System and Senses.	Diseases of the Respiratory Organs.	Diseases of the Digestive Organs.	Diseases of the Genito-urinary Organs.	Accidental Deaths.	Poisoning.	Causes Unknown.	Total.	Consumption (Included in Diseases of the Respiratory Organs).
	Malaria.	Beri-beri.	Others.													
Japanese males	196	72	151	68	8	8	33	68	64	71	13	67	-	13	832	26
" females	68	8	72	49	8	6	36	42	42	43	19	8	-	15	416	13
1901 Total	264	80	223	117	16	14	69	110	106	114	32	75	-	28	1,248	39
Formosan males	5,329	377	3,515	2,668	1,626	1,007	1,139	1,724	3,854	3,918	1,235	859	15	5,188	32,454	667
" females	3,859	183	3,106	2,365	1,073	697	1,635	1,366	2,541	2,880	1,211	320	5	4,073	25,304	343
Total	9,188	560	6,621	5,033	2,699	1,704	2,764	3,090	6,395	6,798	2,446	1,179	20	9,261	57,758	1,010
Grand total	9,452	640	6,844	5,150	2,715	1,718	2,833	3,200	6,501	6,912	2,478	1,254	20	9,289	59,006	1,049
Japanese males	157	48	244	87	10	13	24	110	102	69	14	66	4	18	966	54
" females	89	16	114	89	2	4	22	89	74	60	9	20	-	10	598	29
1902 Total	246	64	358	176	12	17	46	199	176	129	23	86	4	28	1,564	83
Formosan males	7,776	444	3,959	3,925	1,888	1,355	1,685	2,169	6,273	4,936	968	4,594	4	3,849	43,825	1,174
" females	5,422	235	3,143	3,176	1,265	934	2,257	1,803	4,507	3,702	1,244	456	2	3,080	31,226	754
Total	13,198	679	7,102	7,101	3,153	2,289	3,942	3,972	10,780	8,638	2,212	5,050	6	6,929	75,051	1,928
Grand total	13,444	743	7,460	7,277	3,165	2,306	3,988	4,171	10,956	8,767	2,235	5,136	10	6,957	76,615	2,011

Note.—The numbers given in the above statistics are taken from the burial and cremation permits issued by the police; they do not therefore show the whole of the mortality which occurred in the island. It should also be borne in mind that the above figures do not include the mortality among the garrison and soldiers, nor do the figures up to 1899 include the deaths of prisoners.

CHAPTER XIX.

EDUCATION—RELIGION—PHILANTHROPY.

EDUCATION.—The Chinaman's love of money—Lamentable ignorance—Institution of schools—Educational problems—Methods adopted—Educational expenses defrayed out of local taxation—Progress accomplished—Number of pupils—Schools, governmental and missionary—Gradual growth of mutual confidence—Need for healthy literature.

RELIGION.—A religion without ethics—Dr. G. L. Mackay on heathenism in Formosa—Mere superstition and devil worship—Blind leaders of the blind—A new religion—Chinese spirit worship—The work of Roman Catholics—Presbyterian mission successes—Religious statistics.

PHILANTHROPY.—Chinese generosity—Existing charities founded by the Chinese—Japanese institutions and their endowments—A general relief fund—The Red Cross Society.

EDUCATION.

EDUCATION has a great future before it in Formosa. In fact, it may be looked upon as the most important means of civilising the island. If the inhabitants are ever to be raised to a higher level, their customs and manners must be entirely changed; but this can only be effected by giving them such an education as will work a complete transformation in their characters.

The Chinaman worships money, and is ready to sacrifice everything, even life itself, if by so doing he can add to his hoard. This has made him the laughing-stock of the world; but if we look below the surface, we discover that this inordinate greed is but the natural outcome of his social surroundings and of his religious beliefs. The upper classes, seeing the utter corruption of their rulers, have lost all hope. They are disgusted with everything, and so try to find happiness by drowning themselves in wine and stuffing themselves with pork. The lower classes also, knowing as many of them do by sad experience the futility of depending on the Government

for either justice or protection, have with one accord come to regard money as the one and only thing they can really rely on. Thus all alike give themselves to money-making.

The Chinaman in Formosa shares neither the social pleasures nor the honours open to his friends in China. Only wine and women are left him. But he knows well that neither of these can be had without money. What wonder, then, that he does his utmost to make all he can, and becomes even more grasping than his relatives on the mainland!

In his book, *From Far Formosa*, Dr. Mackay tells how a certain Chinaman, who was dangerously hurt in an earthquake which wrecked his house, pointed, when dying, to the place where his money was hidden and appeared more troubled to lose his money than his life. I read this story before going to Formosa, and wondered much at the time whether it was really possible for any human being to become so covetous, but my investigations in the island convinced me that among the people there it was not only possible, but, alas, terribly common.

The Formosan Chinaman has no higher ambition than to enjoy the mere animal pleasures of life. His sole thought is how best to gratify these low appetites; and no room is left in his mind for higher aspirations. If, therefore, you speak to him about his children's education, he at once asks, "How much extra will it enable them to earn?" Without a satisfactory answer on this point, he is most unwilling to send his children to school.

Unfortunately, the education given under the Chinese régime, consisting as it did in memorising meaningless and useless stories, did not help the people to secure Government positions at Peking, to gain higher degrees, to make a name for themselves, or even to better their social position, in fact it did not benefit them in any way. Thus they have never seen practical proof of the advantages of education. One day while I was in Formosa, I met a very clever man and said, "Are you a follower of the philosopher Choo He's school or do you hold with Wang Sheu Jan?"¹ He answered, "I do not

¹ Choo He and Wang Sheu Jan were Chinese philosophers. Choo He was the greatest Chinese scholar of his time. He died A.D. 1200, aged seventy-one. He taught that knowing and doing are two different things, and said that things



Girls.



Boys.

SCHOOLS IN FORMOSA.

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know who Wang Sheu Jan was". A Chinese University graduate to whom on another occasion I put the same question, said, "I never heard of Wang Sheu Jan until some Japanese scholars told me of his wonderful learning and excellent writings". This little story shows what a slight knowledge of history they possess. Indeed, Formosa must in this respect be looked upon as a southern wilderness. If such astonishing ignorance be found among the most learned, no wonder that the common people are satisfied simply to send their children to the village teacher's house to be taught merely to read the books of Mencius and Confucius.

It was under such conditions as these that the Government opened schools and began to teach the people the Japanese language, which they despised, and Japanese history, which they had no wish to learn. At first, as was perhaps natural, they misunderstood our motives and refused to send their children to school, thinking we taught them our language and gave them other instruction only in order that we might the more easily enslave them. But now that they have come to place more confidence in the Government, these suspicions seem to be gradually dying away. I went to see one or two schools in Taihoku, and the authorities told me that they found it very difficult to educate the people there in the true sense of the word, though it was comparatively easy, they said, to instruct them in practical sciences, *e.g.*, physics, chemistry, electricity, medicine, etc.

Immediately on the acquisition of Formosa, our authorities gave much thought to the subject of education, being anxious to educate the inhabitants in conformity with the policy which has been so often advocated as the best for developing a newly acquired territory—First educate the people. Our educational authorities, however, were confronted with a difficulty which they did not see how to avoid. Should they give the people a practical scientific education and thus enable them to better

are learnt in order to be practised. Wang Sheu Jan, on the other hand, maintained that knowing and doing are both one and the same thing, any failure to put one's knowledge into practice being due solely to imperfect knowledge of the subject. He died A.D. 1528, aged fifty-seven. Choo He may, therefore, be said to belong to the empirical school of ethics and Wang Sheu Jan to the subjective school. (TRANSLATOR.)

themselves, have more comfortable homes and make more money; or should they give such an education as would assimilate them with us, Japanese? If the latter course be adopted, but little time or energy can be devoted to teaching the practical sciences, and the idea that education is simply a means of enabling a man to earn more must be banished from their minds. Owing to the difficulty of reconciling these two apparently conflicting aims, the educational position in Formosa may be said to be still in the experimental stage. The man who can find a satisfactory solution will confer a great benefit on the cause of education in the island.

In 1896, when civil administration was introduced, the authorities at first adopted the assimilation idea. Government schools were opened in fifteen districts, *viz.*: Taihoku, Tamsui, Kelung, Shinchiku, Bioritsu, Taichu, Horisha, Rokko, Unrin, Kagi, Tainan, Hozan, Koshun, Taito and the Pescadores. In these, Japanese was made the principal study, and all graduates were employed by the Government as interpreters or in some other position.

In July, 1898, a complete change was effected. It was decided that the schools which had been established in Taito and Koshun should from that time be exclusively used for teaching Japanese to the savages. In these two districts there were in 1904 thirteen such schools, with 803 scholars altogether. The results of thus educating the savages have been very encouraging; many of the graduates have become auxiliary police and are rendering good service in assisting to pacify their more savage brothers. It was also resolved that in the other thirteen districts the Educational Bureau should from July, 1898, only pay the teachers' travelling expenses and salaries, all the other expenses of the schools being borne by the people of the district; and that schools should only be established where the people undertook to support them either by private contributions or by special grants from the local revenue. The Government also took charge of all the farms which had belonged to the schools under the Chinese régime, and decided that the income from these should be devoted to public education.

The schools thus supported out of the local rates only numbered seventy-four in 1898, but in 1904 there were 153,

including branches. In these, 242 Japanese, 235 men and seven women, and 378 natives, 349 men and 29 women, were employed, teaching 20,523 native boys and 2,655 native girls; 168 Japanese children were also in attendance for the time, as no common schools were to be found in the districts where they were living. Common schools were also opened in Taihoku, Kelung, Giran, Toshien, Shinchiku, Bioritsu, Taichu, Shoka, Kagi, Tainan, Hozan, and in the Pescadores. These had each two courses, a higher and a lower, just like the common schools in Japan. They have seventy-three teachers and 2,552 pupils. Reduced fares on the railway are given to children attending school. Some Chinese learned men also opened schools themselves and taught the reading of the Chinese classics. Such of these as are situated near the Common Schools are only allowed by the Government to receive children who fail to enter the Public Schools. Nevertheless there are still 1,080 of these Chinese Schools with a total of 21,661 scholars. Thus we see how hard it is to get rid of old habits of thought and change old customs.

One Language School and one Normal School have also been opened. These are on a higher grade than the Public Schools. The Language School has a Normal Department where Japanese are trained to become teachers in the Public Schools; a Language Department where adult natives are taught Japanese, so that they may become assistant officials; a Railway and Scientific Department where telegraphy, engineering, and agriculture are taught, and a Middle School Department. There is also a Special Department connected with the school where women are taught sewing, embroidery, knitting, and artificial flower-making; and it is worthy of note that the results attained in this department have been on the whole very good. The Normal School is designed to train native teachers for the Public Schools, for the Chinese Schools, and also for private institutions. There is also a school at Hobe near Tamsui, founded by the Rev. William Gould, a Canadian Presbyterian missionary, and another at Tainan founded by the Rev. T. Barclay, a Scotch Presbyterian missionary. At Taihoku there is the Tomon School, also an Elementary Commercial School, and a school where instruction is given in matters relating to colonial administration.

Among all our many undertakings in Formosa my opinion is that education is the most difficult; but as the educational facilities become more and more widely extended and the people gain more confidence in the Government, these difficulties seem to be largely disappearing. From now on I believe that the authorities will gradually assume less and less responsibility, and leave the education principally in the hands of the teachers themselves. These teachers will require to exercise an extraordinary amount of patience, and they must not expect too much from the assimilation principle. One of them said to me one day: "I do not know whenever the time will come when we shall be able fully to carry out the assimilation idea". My answer was: "We must have a great deal of patience. You have not been here more than nine years yet, and nine years are but as a moment in the life of a State. How is it possible in such a short time to change the characteristics of the natives whose minds have been moulded by the history of this island for the last three hundred years, and also by all that has happened in China during the past sixty or seventy centuries? It is fully a hundred years since England gained possession of India, but the people of that country are not yet fully assimilated. Here in Formosa at least the same amount of patience is required as has been exercised in India." Indeed, I am impressed with the necessity of patience being shown by every one who is engaged in the work of education in the island.

I hope also that the authorities will elaborate some plan for educating the natives apart from the schools, by the publication of suitable literature. Graduates from the Language Schools or from the other Public Schools have intellectual desires and longings which their text-books fail to satisfy, and which the reading matter provided by ordinary book-stores does not meet. I am afraid, therefore, that these longings of the youth of Formosa will be disappointed unless the authorities can see their way to take advantage of the present opportunity and provide plenty of good stimulating reading matter, in a style that can be easily understood. The condition of Formosa to-day corresponds very closely to that prevailing in Japan at the Restoration, and it is unnecessary for me to say how much the Japanese young men of that period owed to

the little books compiled by the late Mr. Fukuzawa, or to the works published about that time by our Educational Department. I believe, therefore, that the publication of popular scientific books, lives of great men, modern histories, inspiring and elevating stories, short statements of present-day politics, descriptions of Tokyo, etc., would all help to satisfy the wants of the native youth and would materially further the cause of education in Formosa.

RELIGION.

The religious condition of the Formosan Chinese has shown me how fearful religion is when the ethical element is lacking. All the religions which are recognised as truly great contain a large amount of moral teaching, but no such teaching is to be found in the bewildering tangle of corrupt superstition which the Formosan Chinese call religion. According to their view, religion is a kind of superhuman power controlling man's destinies and accompanying him both in this life and the next. This superhuman power will aid those who believe in and worship it, without stopping to inquire whether their conduct be good or evil. Man's conduct in this life is one thing, his happiness or unhappiness hereafter quite another; and the one, they say, is in no way whatever dependent on the other. They also believe that this superhuman power does not rule over the whole universe, but that different gods have different spheres after the manner of the feudal lords in ancient times, each individual god having his own particular duties. It is obvious that such a religion can have no special moral claims.

The statement which the late Dr. George L. Mackay, a Canadian Presbyterian missionary, makes in his book, *From Far Formosa*, about the religious life of the natives is perfectly true. He lived among them, wore their clothes and ate their food, labouring in the island for twenty-three years. He is indeed a hero in the modern religious world. He writes:—

"Religiously the Chinese in Formosa are related to the Chinese on the mainland, especially to those in the Fukien province. They are all idolaters. Transportation and separation from the huge mass may, indeed, have had the effect of

loosening the bonds and making idolatry in Formosa less unyielding in its hold and less hopelessly blinded in its outlook than it is in China. The incessant struggle for life in a new country may also have done something. At all events, it would seem as though there were more laxity, more indifference, among the masses of the people than may be found on the mainland.

"But the heathenism of Formosa is of the same kind and quality as the heathenism of China. It is the same poisonous mixture, the same dark, damning nightmare. The original element was Confucianism—a system of morality, with its worship of heaven, its deification of ancestors, and its ethical maxims. Centuries after, Taoism was added—a system of demonolatry, with its spirit superstition and wretched incantations. Then from India Buddhism was brought—a system of idolatry, with its shrines and smoking incense. These three systems existed side by side until the dividing walls began to crumble; and now the three are run together, a commingling of conflicting creeds, degrading the intellect, defiling life, and destroying all religious sentiment. In Western lands one hears much about Oriental religions, the beauties of Buddhism, and the like. One who knows is not deceived. These indiscriminating laudations are false and vain, the outcome of ignorance or the enchantment of distance. I know something of the delights of Buddhism, not as seen from the platform of a parliament of religions, but as Buddhism really is in its own country. For twenty-three years I have been in the midst of heathenism, brushing against its priests and people; and I know the poison of its sweets, the fatal flash of its light, and the stagnant fœtor of its life."

In a word, the Formosan religion is nothing but a meaningless tissue of superstition and devil worship. It is true, ancestral worship is retained, and the head of the family has supreme control over all the other members, but otherwise no trace of Confucianism remains. Taoist beliefs have been changed into a mass of myths and senseless stories, and all good religious principles have become corrupted.

I have visited many shrines in different districts, and found them just like Buddhist temples, with incense and flowers arranged before the gods, and coolies, as I thought,

standing waiting for the worshippers ; but I was afterwards much surprised to find that these men whom I took for coolies were really priests. When the worshippers come, the priest first of all prays for a blessing on them, and then taking bamboo sticks he shuffles them two or three times, praying the while for the worshippers. According as the sticks arrange themselves, either with their planed surfaces uppermost, or with the wrong side which has the bark on uppermost, the prayer is accepted or rejected. If, however, only one stick shows the smooth surface, the prayer is granted. By some such means as this the people believe that they receive divine communications, and have full confidence that these same bamboo sticks are able to foretell their destinies. The priests are despised by all, and are really the most dissolute class. They are classed with barbers, executioners and other outcasts, and, not being regarded as men, are shut out from society. What life can there be in a religion presided over by such men ?

Whenever a young man or woman dies an unnatural death, the departed spirit is at once deified, and the people flock to worship the new deity. So new gods and buddhas spring up all over the country just like poisonous mushrooms. The latest of these new faiths is "Hiran Koitsu Kwai". It originated in the neighbourhood of Canton and was brought to the Pescadores about thirty years ago. The governor, fearing it would bewilder the people, issued an order prohibiting its introduction, but even this failed to stop its spread. It was introduced into Formosa in 1898 by a man called Shu-tsz, living at Jukirin in the Shinchiku district. He joined the new sect through the influence of a Chinaman from Canton, named Pang Ting-hwa. This Shu-tsz professed to have been delivered from the opium habit in answer to prayer. Regardless of expense, he brought over numbers of priests from China who earnestly proclaimed the efficacy of the Koitsu Kwai. These doctrines have since been widely diffused, and uniting with the anti-Japanese spirit, gave rise to a political movement which the authorities found it necessary to suppress with all the forces at their command. This society has eighteen chief gods, Kwan-u, Kwannon Buddha, Tenjo, Seibo, Shokatsuryo, etc. These gods, it is said, descend from heaven, write their oracles with a peach branch on the sand, and tell

the fortunes of those who put faith in them. The society's houses of prayer are called "Lwan Tong" or "Ki Tong". In short, this faith is a kind of eclectic worship of those gods and buddhas which enjoy the most popularity amongst the Chinese.

According to Chinese belief, man has three spirits, one of which goes to the other world when his body dies, one stays in the grave, and the other remains in the house. It is the duty of the priest to console the spirit which has gone to the other world, but the work of consoling the other two spirits—the one in the grave and the one in the house—is considered to be the duty of the dead man's sons. Fully convinced that the spirits will starve to death just like an ordinary man unless they are provided with food and drink, the sons make wooden images of their departed parents and treat them just as they would if they were yet alive in the flesh. Thus, as in their lives their only thought is of themselves, so in their religion their family is everything. Just as their sole reliance in this world is money, so their whole reliance for the world to come is in the offerings which their children may make to their disembodied spirits. What they rely upon to carry them safely through the three stages—the Past, the Present, and the Future—is themselves and their own families alone. So, whatever religion they may profess, they cannot get rid of their desire for money, because even for their journey into the other world they believe they must depend on the money sent by their surviving children.

To turn to Christianity, that religion spread over the southern part of the island at the time of the Dutch occupation, and over the north during the Spanish occupation. Indeed, the whole island was at one time covered, but the work was mostly confined to the savages; and, before the foundations were firmly laid, the foreign occupation being stopped, the missionaries were all expelled and Christianity was swept away, leaving no trace.

In 1859 the Spanish Catholics in Manila sent saintly Father Sainz to Formosa. His attention was drawn to the cruel way in which the Formosan Chinese treat their female children, often abandoning them altogether or even killing them outright. He and his fellow missionaries have done

much to combat these bad practices, and have during the last twenty years rescued between six and seven thousand children. Their headquarters are at Takow. These missionaries only receive one hundred yen each a year and devote their whole lives to the work. We cannot but admire such devotion.

In 1871 the Scotch Presbyterian Mission sent the Rev. William Campbell to Tainan, and in the following year the Rev. George L. Mackay reached Tamsui and commenced work there for the Canadian Presbyterian Church. The work of these two Churches proved highly successful under the direction of two such strong and able missionaries, even the obstinate hearts of the natives opening to receive their instructions, so that to-day grand churches and well-organised schools may be seen as one outcome of their self-denying labours. Dr. Mackay in particular laboured assiduously, walking barefoot with the natives, eating their food, and even accompanying them at times into the savage districts. Such extraordinary earnestness and sincerity won its way to the hearts of the natives. Some subscribed generously towards the expenses of the Church; others became evangelists, some women even becoming Christian workers. Thus in spite of frequent persecution from both the Chinese officials and the natives, and at the constant risk of their lives, these two missionaries have become a living force in Formosa. These two Churches are the only ones in the island which have a living faith. They now have 131 preachers, 24 Biblewomen, and 133 churches and preaching places. The total number of converts including Roman Catholics is 15,068. There are also 196 Japanese who belong to Protestant Churches in Japan. In the Pescadores a self-supporting church may be seen.

But in Formosa it still remains a question whether Christianity will prove able to save the people from their excessive love for money. With regard to this, one of the leading missionaries says: "I believe that through my instrumentality many in this island have already been saved from sin, but the fact that they have not yet been delivered from their overpowering love of money is to me a constant source of sorrow".

I here give the religious statistics made up to the year 1904. Undesirable immoral religions outside Buddhism are of

course not included. It must also be borne in mind that many natives who profess to be Buddhists are also at the same time believers in the immoral religions.

RELIGIOUS STATISTICS FOR 1904.

Name of Religion.	Temples or Organised Churches.	Preaching Places.	Preachers.	Japanese.	Membership Formosans.	Total.
Shintoist . .	—	9	11	966	4,086	5,052
Buddhist . .	6	59	47	11,236	23,264	34,500
Christian . .	5	133	131	281	14,787	15,068
Total .	11	201	189	12,483	42,137	54,620

THE BUDDHISTS DIVIDED ACCORDING TO SECTS.

Name of Sect.	Preaching Places.	Preachers.	Japanese.	Membership Formosans.	Total.
Shin	12	16	5,617	9,496	15,113
Nichiren	4	2	1,565	—	1,565
Jodo	9	9	1,376	2,627	4,003
Sodo	30	15	1,776	10,891	12,667
Rinzai	3	3	675	250	925
Shingon	1	2	1,227	—	1,227
Total	59	47	11,236	23,264	34,500

PHILANTHROPY.

Even under the Chinese régime numerous attempts were made, both privately and officially, to relieve the widows and orphans, as well as the other destitute people in the island. Many of these came to nothing, and others were but temporary measures, so that the following five institutions were the only ones still in existence at the time of our occupation, *vis.* :—

1. A Charitable Home for widows, orphans, and other destitute persons, founded in 1684 by Cheng Bao-jen, a district governor.

2. A Poor People's Home, opened in 1748 by Lo Shuchi and Fan Weh, two Imperial secretaries, who were much distressed to see the miserable state in which the poor of that time were living.

3. The Formosans frequently abandon their female children, a custom that is especially prevalent in the Tainan District. About the year 1850, a wealthy Chinese gentleman named Shi Su-long felt the burden of this so keenly that he not only gave \$5,000 in silver, but also provided the necessary land and buildings, and established a Foundling Home, thus rescuing many of the discarded children. He also persuaded the Government to devote to the same object a portion of the Anping port dues; but when he died, this noble work died with him. The institution was again opened several years afterwards by the Taotai Li Chao-tang, who granted it an annual subsidy of \$1,000, payable out of the duties charged on imported drugs. In 1882 another Taotai, Leu Gao-seu, stopped this allowance, substituting another of over \$6,000 out of the revenue from the taxes on weights and measures, and from the salt and silver taxes collected at the Main Tax Office.

4. A bureau for relieving young widows of good conduct who are under thirty years of age. This was opened in 1874 by Cheng Chao-pien, who visited the island as Imperial Commissioner. Out of pity for the helpless young widows he saw on that tour, he contributed \$1,000 towards their relief.

5. A society for providing free graves for those persons whose relatives are too poor to bury them themselves.

As all the above charitable institutions have their own separate property, they have not been interfered with in any way by our authorities.

In May, 1899, the Governor-General established the Jin-saiin at Taihoku, and gave instructions that the assistance given should be limited to those residing within the boundaries of the following six districts: Taihoku, Kelung, Giran, Shinko, Toshien and Shinchiku. This institution owns property in land and buildings to the value of 32,731 yen, saleable bonds worth 14,905 yen, and national bonds worth 24,146 yen. Fifty or sixty destitute people are always to be found under its sheltering roof.

In October of the same year a Jikeiin was established at Banshorio, Hozan and Tainan to help the people in the eight districts of Kagi, Ensuiiko, Tainan, Banshorio, Hozan, Aka, Koshun and Taito. This institution has an endowment of

land and buildings worth 58,120 yen, saleable bonds worth 8,078 yen, and national bonds worth 26,222 yen. There are always about sixty or seventy inmates.

In April, 1900, a similar institution was opened in the Pescadores. This has an endowment of lands and buildings worth 6,918 yen, saleable bonds worth 222 yen, and national bonds worth 2,510 yen, and already over one hundred persons have applied for relief.

In August, 1904, another institution of the same kind was established at Shoka to meet the needs of the people in the following five districts, Bioritsu, Taichu, Shoka, Nanto and Toroku. This institution possesses an endowment fund consisting of lands and buildings worth 16,111 yen, saleable bonds worth 17,614 yen, and national bonds worth 4,271 yen. There is also a home for foundlings at Kagi, and another at Bokio, but these are both private institutions.

It will be seen from the above what provision has already been made for assisting the people; still for the next fifty years or so our administration in Formosa must, it seems to me, be to a great extent fatherly, and look upon the relief of the helpless as one of its greatest responsibilities.

Because the above institutions were inadequate to meet the needs of the unfortunate people, the authorities issued an order in August, 1899, that all the subjects of the Emperor of Japan residing in Formosa, above sixty or under thirteen years of age, who had no friends or relatives to help them, those attacked by infectious diseases, those who were crippled or maimed, and also those who were dangerously ill, should be relieved from the local rates. This order is available only in individual cases, becoming ineffectual when a locality is visited with a general calamity.

In December, 1899, therefore, regulations were issued providing for the gradual accumulation of a General Relief Fund. These regulations require each district to lay aside annually during the next twenty years at least 5 per cent. of its ordinary revenue from taxes. At the time of writing this fund already amounts to 955,985 yen, which should be sufficient to afford temporary relief in case of a general calamity.

A branch of the Red Cross Society was established in 1895, with a local secretary in Amoy. In 1904 the society

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had 20,361 members. The Volunteer Nursing Association has 223 members, of whom over 22 are native women. More than 110 of these hold nurses' certificates. During the late war these women displayed great earnestness, nursing the sick and wounded, and holding charity bazaars, in these ways doing their best to help the country at that critical period.

CHAPTER XX.

CUTTINGS FROM THE AUTHOR'S NOTE-BOOK.

First impressions—Artistic effects—Taihoku, past and present—Woman's rights—The position of woman as mother—Woman a mere chattel—Ducks and drakes—Birds and buffaloes—The pig lover—Methods of conveyance by land and sea—Athletics and colonization—Centres of social enjoyment—Chinese houses have their good points—Family arrangements—Formosa not an Eldorado.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

I FIRST set foot in Formosa on 7th June, 1904, having travelled by the Norwegian ss. *Tonsberg*, which made about twelve knots an hour. We reached Kelung about five o'clock in the afternoon and I immediately proceeded to the station. It seemed strange to find that most of the station officials were Formosans, with cues, and wearing dark blue cotton coats and socks, leggings, and straw sandals. The native postmen, too, all wore a similar dress. The station presented a scene of much good-natured confusion—crowds of natives talking loudly and rushing about here and there.

ARTISTIC EFFECTS.

Our train left for Taihoku at 6 P.M. On both sides of the railway native houses were to be seen, some apparently farm-houses, thatched with straw and surrounded with bamboo fences. The better class houses were roofed with red tiles, while those belonging, as we supposed, to the wealthy residents were further distinguished by front entrance gates, flanked by gatekeepers' lodges. All such buildings were built of some kind of red brick. The small side doors in the gate were painted green or blue, and the gate itself had a high roof not unlike the roof of an old Japanese castle, the whole in rather primitive style. The effect, however, was somewhat artistic, principally because

of the presence on all four sides of the house of evergreen shrubs resembling the ilex, except for saw-like spikes on both sides of the leaves. There were also low shrubs like azaleas, fresh and green as though trying to look their very best. Here and there, red flowers were to be seen growing out of the root of a certain plant, the leaves of which were so small as to be well-nigh invisible. I also caught sight of a tree very much like the rose mallow, with large red flowers rising boldly above the foliage, graceful and of majestic bearing, as if they and they alone were the acknowledged rulers over all other flowers. Queer trees and strange flowers indeed, on every one of which I was constrained to gaze with wonder! We could see, walking among the trees and flowers, barefooted natives, a loin-cloth their sole apparel, their copper-coloured skins plainly visible, carrying across their shoulders bamboo poles from each end of which hung several river fish. The whole scene reminded me of the pictures drawn in the period of Nanso¹ (A.D. 1141-1278).

TAIHOKU, PAST AND PRESENT.

An hour's ride from Kelung brought me to Taihoku, the distance between these two ports being about the same as that between Tokyo and Yokohama. In spite of the fact that Taihoku was the last city in Formosa to be opened up, it was the seat of the Government when Liu Ming-chuan, the last Chinese Governor, was in office. The Governor-General's Office is here, and it now is the real centre of political and social life. The city is situated on the Tamsui River in the plain of the same name. The central portion, which now contains the Government offices and also the official residences, used to be surrounded by a wall twelve feet high and ten feet thick, built of stone and red brick. It could be entered through the four gates, one on each side—north, south, east and west.

The street, known as Daitone, runs north to the business quarter, where many English and American merchants reside. A street called Moko runs west for about two miles. It is on this street that most of the Chinese shops are to be found.

The city, like many other Chinese ones, was built after

¹ Toba Sojo lived during this period, and he and his disciples distinguished themselves by painting comic pictures. (TRANSLATOR.)

the fashion of a miniature walled-in provincial capital, the central and the most important portion being, so to speak, the citadel. At the time when our Government obtained possession of Formosa, there was much ground in the central part that was unbuilt on, being either under cultivation or else altogether unused. Indeed, the ground on which the Governor-General's Office and the other official residences are built is said to have been formerly paddy fields. But now the old wall has been demolished, the old features of the city swept away, and the stones and bricks have been used for building a prison and other edifices, which give the city quite a European aspect.

Its sanitary conditions have been dwelt upon in another chapter. The regularly planned streets are wide and clean; and living is quite comfortable. In these respects it is superior to all but perhaps six or seven of the best known cities in Japan.

Clearly, a new Formosa has appeared. Java has been called "The Public Park of the World," but if Formosa continues to progress as she is now doing she will, it seems to me, become "The Pleasure Garden of Japan" if not of the world.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

I had heard that the women of China were grievously oppressed, and I expected to find it the same in Formosa, but, after carefully investigating the facts, I have come to the conclusion that the Formosan women enjoy more freedom in many respects than is allowed to their sisters in China. The relations between the sexes prevailing in England are considerably modified in the colonies, the colonial women commanding more respect and the men becoming less masterful. In the same way, the practical morality which governs the home in China is modified in some degree in Formosa, owing it may be to the fact that in point of numbers the Chinese men in the island greatly exceed the women.

According to Confucius, there are seven grounds on which a man may divorce his wife. They are: disobedience, barrenness, lewd conduct, jealousy, leprosy or any other foul and incurable disease, talking too much, and thievishness. These seven reasons for divorce cause the greater part of the suffering

which comes to women in China; but though this precept is often talked of, the general feeling in Formosa is that it would be unwise to enforce it. In Formosa a married woman can hold property, such as paddy fields, tea fields, etc., in her own name; she can dispose of it in any way she likes, and can leave it by will to one or all of her children just as she prefers. Judging from this, we must allow that the rights of women in Formosa have reached a high level.

THE POSITION OF WOMAN AS MOTHER.

On one occasion I met a Formosan gentleman, and said: "People in Western countries assert that the Chinese women have no rights whatever. At the same time, I have heard from other sources that the women are treated with proper respect, it being understood that if a man respects his home he will also respect his wife. Not knowing myself how it is here in Formosa, I wish you would tell me which is true." He answered: "There is a measure of truth in both ideas; in fact, the actual condition of our women is a sort of compromise between the two. It is quite true that in Formosa, as in China, the rights allowed to women are in the eyes of the law very limited; but, on the other hand, there is in the home a distinct sphere in which the man must of necessity yield to the woman. This gave rise to the idea that women had certain rights.

"But even these limited rights are denied to unmarried women. They are absolutely under their parents' control and have no rights whatever. The married women are differently situated, especially when they become old and have a number of children. They, then, have a good deal of authority which cannot be taken from them, because in them the rights of the woman are united with the rights of the mother."

This, however, seemed to me to be a one-sided view.

WOMAN A MERE CHATTEL.

I have said that Formosan women have more or less freedom, but this freedom is useless, because under certain circumstances the husband has the right to sell his own wife. For instance, if she be disobedient to her father-in-law or unfaith-

ful to her husband. In case of disobedience, the husband must divorce her, and he is at liberty to sell her if her own father fail to redeem her. In case of unfaithfulness, if the husband does not act, the Chinese officials can take his place and sell her by auction to the highest bidder. In case the wife deserts her husband, the husband may sell her to any one he likes. The husband is also allowed to sell his wife on account of poverty. In this case, however, the wife's consent is required.

Worse than this, the husband sometimes lives on the proceeds of his wife's prostitution. This is called the "Half-closed Gate" (Imperfect Home). Again, the husband may be the principal consort, and by public agreement allow his wife to live with another man who supplies funds for the support of all three. This man, who in reality hires the woman, is called the "Guest Husband," and goes through a kind of secondary marriage with her.

These immoral practices are the result of considering wives simply as chattels, to be bought and sold at will. This idea appears to have originated in the fact that in arranging the marriage of a daughter the parents do not take her happiness into consideration, but only how much money they can obtain for her.

When arranging a son's marriage, the first thing his parents do is to send some money to the girl's parents. This is the general custom in good families and is called "Buying the woman outright". The lowest amount thus sent is sixty yen, but more often two or three hundred yen, and occasionally as much as eight or even nine hundred yen is paid. This is the legal method of marrying grown women, but sometimes the parents adopt another plan. They obtain a girl of eight or nine and bring her up as their son's wife, but even in this case they are obliged to pay for the girl.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the husband, having purchased the girl's body with money just like any other piece of merchandise, should regard it as such, and consider himself free to resell it whenever it suits his purpose.

It is noteworthy that most of the women in the Formosan prisons are there for murder, or attempted murder, of their husbands, the crime being the outcome of adultery, or having been committed in a fit of mad revolt against a loveless and

hateful yoke. The ultimate cause of all these troubles is twofold: the parents' all-absorbing love of money, and the fact that they have too much authority over their children.

I asked several Formosan scholars and gentlemen whether in their country it was the custom for a man to keep concubines in addition to his lawful wife, and all answered in the negative, qualifying their statements by saying that such a practice was occasionally allowed, although seldom met with except among the higher officials. When, however, the Formosan Civil Code was being drafted, the learned men, who were consulted, held that, unless the law punished concubines as well as the lawful wife in case of adultery, the home life would be seriously endangered. This suggests the fact that the keeping of concubines is very common.

Yet in some respects their sexual morality is very strict. In good families, I was told, it is the rule that those having the same family name even, however distant the relation may be, cannot intermarry. It is also the custom that those who have concubines should avoid adding to their number any woman who may chance to have the same family name as the man.

They are also very particular to observe class distinctions, treating with contempt prostitutes, all servants, barbers, chiropodists, butchers, those who make a living by assisting others to commit unmentionable crimes, executioners, funeral musicians, and actors. These are outcasts whom respectable people refuse to marry. This is very strange, and shows what a hold Chinese civilisation once had in the island.

DUCKS AND DRAKES.

The Formosans are extremely fond of ducks, and so on country walks it is a common sight to see two or three hundred, sometimes even a thousand, of these creatures, all in charge of one boy, with a long pole with which he directs their course most skillfully. They have no special feeding grounds, but wander all over the countryside with perfect freedom, eating and drinking wherever they choose, and paying no attention at all to boundary lines. No drakes, however, are to be found in these flocks, because as drakes lay no eggs they are all killed and eaten.

BIRDS AND BUFFALOES.

Most of the ploughing in Formosa is done by water buffaloes. These animals are very strong and can endure a large amount of hard work, but as they are very dependent on water they soon weary and become quite unable to work unless water is frequently poured over their backs. They may be seen, on the outskirts of any of the larger towns, standing in tanks six or seven feet square, while the people swirl them with water. It is pitiable to see such big strong creatures so cramped up and able to get so little water. It is only in recent years that they have been tamed, and their wild nature is not yet wholly eradicated. On coming into close contact with them, one is immediately conscious of an air of fierceness. Occasionally fifty or sixty of them will suddenly break loose in the open—a terrifying sight to the beholder.

In the southern districts the buffalo is often to be seen with a little brown bird, shaped like a wagtail, perched on his back and the snowy heron following at his heels. The small brown bird is, I was told, a kind of crow. The buffalo welcomes these birds because they devour the flies which are his constant torment. The herons follow him to secure the lampreys which are always to be found in the pools of water that collect wherever he has stepped. Seeing all this with the sun just beginning to set behind a background of bananas and pineapples which grew together in wild profusion, I longed to paint it and preserve such a lovely scene.

THE PIG LOVER.

Pigs are kept all over the island, the Formosans, like the Chinese, making pork their principal food. They love the little pigs to a degree which would astonish the dog lovers of other countries. In some villages men and pigs live together, the pigs receiving the food which is left. If a little pig is struck accidentally, the villagers become very angry, more so perhaps than they would be if their own children were hurt. I suspect, however, that this love for the pig is mainly love for the money they hope to make out of him.

METHODS OF CONVEYANCE BY LAND AND SEA.

The things which tourists find most interesting in Formosa are the bamboo rafts and peculiar sedan-chairs. The rafts are over eighteen feet long, about six feet wide, and one foot thick. They are made by lashing together a number of bamboos three or four inches thick. I tried them twice. The first occasion was when I crossed the Tamsui River on my trip in the south. On my way from Hozan to Toko, I again took one to go on board the steamer, which was anchored a mile or so from the shore. Each raft is built after the style of a platform, into the middle of which a square box-like arrangement has been partly sunk. Here the passengers sit laughing and talking, quite out of reach of the waves, which at times almost entirely submerge the rest of the structure. We were surprised to hear that, when going with the tide, these rafts are perfectly safe.

The sedan-chairs are similar to the ones used in Hong Kong. They are made of slender strips of bamboo and are each carried by two poles. As these poles are over ten feet long, they always bend when the chair is carried, so that the occupant naturally falls asleep, as children do when their cradles are rocked. While travelling from Hozan to Toko I rode in one, and though the day was exceedingly hot, the motion of the men as they walked caused a cool breeze to strike my face, making me feel very comfortable, and sending me off to sleep three times in the ten miles. These sedan-chairs are surely just the right kind of conveyance for sleepy Chinese officials.

ATHLETICS AND COLONIZATION.

I often admire the wisdom of those Englishmen who not only make it a rule while living in the tropics to go out towards evening, when the sun has lost its power, and take a walk, play tennis or some other game, but also rest on Sundays, completely putting away their week-day cares. I expected to see something of the same kind among the Japanese colonists in Formosa, but to my regret they all seemed quite ignorant how to take their pleasures except by themselves. There is a race-course in Taihoku; and also in front of Baron Goto's official

residence a fine recreation ground surrounded by a fence. Outside the fence is a regular bicycle track, much better than anything to be found in Tokyo. The Government bore part of the first cost of laying these out, but all now belong to the Athletic Society and can be used by members of that society. Each morning during my stay I looked out, but never saw more than six or seven horsemen, and but three or four on bicycles; and the mornings I went bicycling a few miles into the country, I only met one or two pedestrians. In the smaller towns it is even worse. In answer to the question, "How do you spend your Sundays and other holidays?" most Japanese replied, "Oh, we always stay at home drinking and playing games". This was very disheartening.

It is a well-known fact that in the tropics plenty of outdoor exercise is an essential condition of health. In spite of this, our Japanese brothers live in Formosa just as they might in more temperate or even in Polar regions, spending their leisure hours in idleness and drinking. Such criminal disregard of Nature's laws will bring its own penalty—a feeling of lassitude and general good-for-nothingness, quickly followed by loss of spirit and mental vigour. I am afraid, if these habits are persisted in, we, Japanese, will in three generations be driven to the wall before the native Formosans. These bad habits are largely due to defects in our Japanese educational system. Everybody talks about industrial education, but I would like to emphasise the need for colonial education; and by colonial education, I mean such an education as will fit our sons and daughters to become successful colonists. I spoke of this to a gentleman I met in Taihoku, and he replied: "Athletics have, as you say, not taken hold here, but during the last three or four years there has been a decided improvement, and now there is a growing tendency to go in for tennis, riding, fencing, etc." If this be true, it is indeed cause for rejoicing.

CENTRES OF SOCIAL ENJOYMENT.

The hotel accommodation in Formosa was the one thing I found uncomfortable. In saying this, I do not overlook the existence of fine Japanese hotels in Taihoku and Tainan, but in tropical countries buildings in Western style are more appropri-

ate, and the Western way of living is also much more conducive to health and comfort. This being so, it is to be regretted that there are as yet no European hotels in Formosa.

It is not enough for a hotel simply to provide accommodation for the night. It should furnish means of recreation as well. Above all, colonial hotels should be centres of social enjoyment where visitors from other lands may find every comfort and convenience. Hong Kong, for instance, would be unattractive indeed without the Peak and Edward Hotels. It has been well said that those who establish colonies should, to insure success, first make parks and build music halls. These are the words of one well acquainted with human nature.

When France set out to colonize Indo-China, she felt the want of a hotel, and the French Government built one in Hanoi, the Hotel Metropole. Not only is this hotel an ornament to the city, but the excellent accommodation it affords and the moderate charges attract large numbers of tourists to the colony. I most earnestly hope that first-class hotels may soon be opened by the Government in Tainan, Taichu and Taihoku to provide proper accommodation for visitors and, at the same time, be social centres where the residents may meet and enjoy themselves.

CHINESE HOUSES HAVE THEIR GOOD POINTS.

We, Japanese, usually look down on the Chinese and despise them on account of their dirty habits, but in the Chinese houses which I saw in Formosa, I was surprised to find the floors raised more than four feet from the ground, fully two feet higher than in Japanese private residences and official buildings. This is done for sanitary reasons, and was doubtless the plan adopted by the ancestors of the present occupants long ago when they lived in the low-lying damp countries of the south. Similar raised floors were to be seen 800 years ago in the houses of Japanese nobles, and they can still be found in many Japanese shrines. This suggests that our ancestors came from the neighbourhood of Singapore. At first they doubtless built their dwellings, as they had always been accustomed to do, with floors raised high above the ground, but, in the course of centuries, as the pestilential vapours arising from the ground

disappeared, they gradually began to introduce the low floors which we see in Japan to-day. It is most regrettable that the same system was adopted by Japanese builders in Formosa. With such low floors, ventilation is impossible; the miasmatic vapours arising from the ground penetrate the mats and carry the germs of malaria and other diseases through the house. It is to be hoped the Japanese settlers in the island will see the wisdom of returning to the ancient and more hygienic custom of our Malay ancestors.

FAMILY ARRANGEMENTS.

People say that the Chinese are like Jews in their love for money, but in my opinion the resemblance does not stop there. They also treat their relatives and those bearing the same family name with a large amount of respect; and again, the Chinese, as well as the Jews, make the family the unit in their social system.

From old times the Formosan Chinese have rigidly observed the rule, that the descendants of the same progenitor should all live together and follow the same occupation. In some cases this has been the custom for many generations, so that families, each consisting of fifty or even a hundred members, are occasionally met with.

In such a case the house will have many rooms, so that each branch of the family may eat and sleep by themselves and business relationships be more easily kept distinct. On visiting such a house one sees, after entering the gate, a regular succession of rooms on either side. These are allotted to the children according to their ages. In one room will live with their attendants five or six who are most nearly related. Thus this room may be said to correspond to one of our Japanese houses.

Moreover, their views in regard to ancestral worship give rise to one custom which strikes a stranger as being very curious. According to Chinese law, a man is allowed to have only one wife, and Formosan custom says the same, but in certain cases an exception is made. For instance, a married man may, by mutual agreement, take as a concubine the wife of a childless man occupying the same house, and thus raise

up children to the woman's lawful husband, in order that a son may be born who shall perform the ancestral worship after his parents' death. Now, although the first is the lawful wife and the second is regarded as a concubine, still we may say that the man has really two wives.

FORMOSA NOT AN ELDORADO.

Many Japanese who go to Formosa go there with their minds full of wild dreams and plans for becoming suddenly rich; but sooner or later they have a rude awakening, and either appeal to their countrymen for help, or leave by stealth at the first opportunity. After reaching Japan, they, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, spread false reports about the island. I hope, therefore, that the Government will establish a sub-office in Tokyo, and take up the same work as is attended to by the Labour Reporting Bureaux in England; issue monthly reports as to the class of labourers required in the different districts, and be in fact a kind of high-class registry office.

In this way Formosa would escape being overrun by undesirables as at present, and would also secure from Japan the valuable services of many suitable persons who are longing to better themselves, but cannot do so in the homeland. Thus both countries would be benefited—Formosa would obtain the help she requires, and Japan's young sons would seize gladly the opportunity of so materially improving their prospects.

This thought came to me while travelling through the island, and since my return I have increasingly seen the need there is for some such provision.

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Formosa. . . . t' Verwaerloosde Formosa of waerachtig verhael, Heodanigh door Verwaerloosungs der Nederlanders in Oost-Indien, het Eylant Formosa, Van Chinesen Mando-rijn, ende Zeeroover, Coxinja, overrompelt, Ver meestert, ende ontweldight is geworden. Begrepen in twee Deelen: Verhaerdelende den Aert en Eygenschap deses Eyland en Displine des selfs Inwoonders. Der Chinesen toeleggh en Oorlongs-preparatiën om net Eylant Formosa t' overvallen; ende der Nederlanders onachtsame gerunge en Zwacke Voorsorge tot hum tegenweer. II Van der Chinesen vyantlijcke overkomste op het Eylant Formosa; Hare beleringh des Sasteels Zeelandia, ende Vordere Oorlong-exploiten en de actien geduyrende deselve belege ringh ten wederzijden Voorgevallen. Hier gijn by-gevoeghteenige aemerckelyke saken, Rakende d' oprechte gront der Sinese Wreetheyt en Tyranny, gepleeght aen de Predicanten, Schoolmeesters ende Nederlanders aldaer. Met by-gevoeghde Authentijcke Bewijsen. Alles getrouwelijck wyt deselve by enn Verhandert, door C. E. S. met schoone Figuren Verciert t' Amsterdam. By Jan Claez ten Hoorn. 1675. Groot in 4to.

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